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The Multimodal and Sequential Design of Co-Animation as a Practice for Association in English Interaction

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Abstract

This thesis describes the understudied interactional practice of co-animation: during the development of an activity in conversation, a speaker incorporates an animation - i.e. a quote, or (re)enactment - and a co-participant responds, pre-emptively, or in the contiguous turn, with a completion or continuation of the animation of the same figure. Based on the study of 89 co-animation sequences found in 10 hours of video-recordings of naturalistic English interaction between friends, relatives or co-workers, this thesis adopts the theoretical and methodological tenets of Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics to describe the multimodal, sequential, and relational organisation of this practice.

This thesis analyses how participants mark the shift from the here-and-now into the animation space, and how co-participants make their contributions both hearable as coherent with prior animations, and as fitted affiliative responses that further the ongoing course of action. Lexico-grammatical, phonetic, and gestural-postural resources are analysed for their interactional import in their concurrent framing of animation and the display of stance and conditional relevance. The organisation of resources in responsive co-animations is found to be positionally-sensitive, with co-participants negotiating agency and epistemic access and entitlement differently relative to the onset of co-animation and to the stage in the ongoing activity.

The scrutiny of the situated deployment of co-animation in the social activities of troubles-tellings/complaint stories on the one hand, and teasing/joint fictionalisation on the other, reveals how co-animation contributes to the process of *association*, that is, the building of single momentary units of participation (collectivities). Co-participants are found to team up around what is presented as a shared stance, values, and identity, against absent but invoked behaviours or individuals engaging in moral transgressions, by jointly "doing being" the same voice.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

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1. Introduction. I, You, and Them in Interaction: Teaming up and “doing being” others

1.1 I and You, Self and Other in interaction

As we navigate our daily life, we encounter other human beings and interrelate in different ways, and a greater part of how this is done is through talk and other forms of bodily behaviour. Our forms of day-to-day socialization involve mostly doing things with others, but getting things done relies on the inevitable separation of our bodies, the undeniable distinction between Self and Other facilitating the usual distribution of roles that enables our daily business to be accomplished. Requesters need givers, storytellers need audiences, questioners need answerers.

However, part of the success of these practices of socialisation simultaneously lies in establishing connections with others, in joining efforts and fusing in shared points of view and courses of action. A considerable part of our daily life depends on concurrence and cooperation, on achieving things with others as members of the same team, committed to the same goal and/or to the same values. In our regular joint activities, when, for instance, we cook together, or solve a puzzle, open the door for others, celebrate our team scoring a goal, or have a representative report our concerns to our employers, others can be our arms, our eyes, our voice, and we can be theirs, or we can even all make a single body of action.

These two dimensions of concurrence and separation, of fission and fusion, are often taken for granted in the course of our daily lives, and we may consider them to be only momentary and fleeting, but they are deeply essential to the accomplishment and

organisation of everyday life. As Enfield (2017) explains, our agency, that is, our degree of control and flexibility and our responsibility and commitment over actions and their design, is *distributed*:

"A large part of social interaction is about solving a me/us problem, in real time: who is doing this, me or us? This requires us to navigate the fission and fusion by which we exit and enter units of social agency together with others." (Enfield, 2017:13)

Our everyday life is, then, about doing, composing, anticipating, controlling, relinquishing control, being accountable for things, for, with, and sometimes against, others. This then involves moments of transition from Self versus Other into those where there seems to be a Self plus Other, or even a single multi-person "Self".

These forms of fusion happen in often imperceptible but consequential ways. Let us analyse this example of everyday conversation. Jon is telling his friend Dan about a severe back pain he developed while doing manual work at drama camp abroad. He is now narrating his encounter with the nurse, providing Dan as a story recipient with evidence as to how bad his back pain got to be:



Example 1.1 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying", adapted. Jon's request to the nurse and Dan's response.

If we analyse this in terms of, e.g. Self/narrator and Other/recipient, the roles are clearly divided, with Dan producing an empathic ("oh!") and displaying understanding ("yeah") at key and relevant moments of the telling.

Only this interaction did not happen like this. What actually happened is shown below:



Example 1.2 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying": Jon's request to the nurse and Dan's actual response.

At a point where Dan/Other could provide a recipient response, Dan co-opts very momentarily the Self/teller role ("cause I'm dying"), while also doing a recipient action ("Yeah"), demonstrating understanding, both through "doing being Jon" in his voice, referring to the degree of pain as if he were him momentarily, and then offering a more canonical recipient response on his own behalf as Dan, the story recipient.

This is the kind of Self-Other fusion in talk that this thesis will be concerned with. How it comes to happen, why and how we do it, and what we achieve with this form of momentary merging will be studied in detail in this work. In order to start delving into what we will later call co-animation, we need to understand more about these forms of Self-Other fusion and the creation of collectivities in talk.

1.2. Parties, Participants and Association

1.2.1 Association and Associative Practices

Understanding fusion in talk requires understanding how talk is organised. We have heard that “it takes two to tango”, as it also takes “two to converse”. Part of this can be traced to the common characterisation of conversation as “dialogue” that may be taken to imply that talk is comprised of two separate participants. One of the pillars of conversation understood both in lay and in scientific terms is *turn-taking*, whose systematic organisation has been masterfully described in Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974), one of the foundational papers for Conversation Analysis (CA, henceforth). In their description of how one party generally talks at a time, how in the highly-coordinated turn transitions there is a minimisation of gap and overlap, and of how next speakers are allocated, the issue of participation and participation “rules” is actually not centred around the *number of participants*, but rather, *around the number and organisation of parties*. And this leaves open the possibility for an independence between participation roles and their incumbency (Levinson, 1988), and thus, for the reality that conversational parties, as social units of interaction, may temporarily be inhabited by more than one interlocutor (Bolden, 2013; Schegloff, 1995):

“Participants can be co-incumbents of the same party of a sort directly relevant to the conversational business which is at that moment in progress” (Schegloff, 1995:34)

Lerner (1993) observed that in interaction, “on occasion an assemblage of two or more individuals can become relevant as a single social unit” (p. 213), a process called **association**, which results in the building of “occasion-specific and momentary collectivities” (p.213). When participants associate, they explore the possibilities of the turn-taking system and make use of different practices to co-construct an interactional activity as if they were working as one party. This means that participants may, on

occasion, unite as "multi-person units of participation...that become relevant and consequential social units in interaction" (Lerner, 1993:237). These forms of interactional and public teaming-up have some non-CA antecedents in the description of "withs" (Goffman, 1971) as participation units, the building of "coalitions" (Bruxelles & Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2004), and of "conversational duets" (Falk, 1980).

1.2.1.1 Speaking on behalf of a collectivity

This form of interactional teaming-up is clear when groups of people are addressed as a collectivity (Lerner, 1993), and a member responds on behalf of the team, as a representative who "stand(s) duty for a joint incumbency" (Levinson, 1988:181). In the following example (1.3) , B addresses both T and M as "you guys" (line 1) as a collectivity, that is, they are "cast as a single unit" (Lerner, 1993:229). T self-selects and responds as a representative of the couple (line 2), and there is nothing treated as accountable about T having done so. In line 6, M responds to the next enquiry, presumably on behalf of both T and M (though the lack of reference to embodied action in the transcript may mask another existing form of selection).

Example 1.3 [GL:TF] (in Lerner, 1993:229)

- 1 B So what've you guys bin doin?
- 2 T **oh not much, we went to Santa Barbara last weekend=**
- 3 J =you went to what?=
4 T Santa Barbara last [weekend.
- 5 J [Oh diju? (.) [How was it ()
- 6 M [(It was really ni:ce)

Co-addressed members of the same team may jointly respond in overlap, also displaying an orientation to association. In the following example (1.4), two couples (Reuben and Frieda, and Dave and Kathy) are interactionally teaming up not as necessarily a couple, but around the interactionally-cast and interactionally-relevant

roles as “the informed” and “the uninformed” (Schegloff, 1995:34). Reuben announces news on his and Frieda’s behalf (“we”, line 1), thus casting Dave and Kathy as recipients.

Example 1.4 KC-4:3 (in Schegloff, 1995:34)

1 REU Hey we got good news.
2 KAT [I know.]
3 DAV [What’s the good new]s.
4 FRI [Ya heard it?]
5 REU [Oh ya do?]
6 (0.5)
7 DAV (What’s-)
8 REU Oh good.
9 (0.8)
10 DAV Oh yeah, mmhmm
11 (1.0)
12 KAT ‘xcept i don’ kow what a (0.2) giant
13 fullicular:: lympho: blastoma is.
14 REU Who the hell does, ex[cept a] doctor.
15 KAT [Well]

In spite of the fact that the addressed participants Kathy and Dave are actually aware of the news but take a different alignment towards the pre-announcement (Kathy displaying prior access in line 2, Dave providing a go-ahead in line 3), they have been interactionally cast as joint news-recipients by Reuben on behalf of him and Frieda, introduced in the “we” (line 1). Reuben and Frieda as news-tellers also work as a team through their display of surprise towards the response to this pre- (lines 4 and 5). The turn-taking organisation of this example reveals two clear parties whose members are jointly occupying the turn space, in this case in overlap, and who are cast interactionally as a single party, as a collective. So they do not only orient to their party having been selected to talk, but also to the fact that the turn-allocation component here does not single out a particular incumbent to speak next.

1.2.1.2 *Self-aggregating into a collectivity*

Anticipatory completions

Association, as we have seen so far, occurs when a speaker talks on behalf of a collectivity, which interactionally behaves as a single unit of participation, a single party, and this has so far been traced here in cases where a participant self-selects, or where there are simultaneous responses of participants in the same collective. Because collectivities as "multi-person units of participation" (Lerner, 1993:237) are occasioned identities in interaction and may be managed around momentary and fleeting contingencies, it is also possible that participants may "self-aggregate" to a collectivity. Self-aggregation can be traced in collaborative productions such as anticipatory completions or choral productions (Helasvuo, 2004/8; Lerner, 1993, 1996b, 2002, 2016), where a co-participant "can demonstrate their co-participation with the prior speaker retrospectively by joining in the production of an ongoing action" (Lerner, 1993:221).

This first example (1.5) shows B completing (lines 9-10) the conditional structure started in A's turn (lines 7-8), indexing independent access to the issues put forward by A, and displaying it as a strongly shared stance, of which there is early evidence in lines 5 and 6.

Example 1.5 [GL:DS] (in Lerner, 1996a:310)

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------|
| 1 | A | but you look at, say |
| 2 | | the Ten Commandments, |
| 3 | | they really are based |
| 4 | | on race survival. |
| 5 | B | I think so. |
| 6 | | I really do. |
| 7 | A | If you don't obey |
| 8 | | those Ten Commandments, |

9 B **the race is going to go**
10 **to hell pretty damn fast.**

In this other example (1.6), the self-aggregation is done around shared epistemic access and rights to the telling, which is indexed by D through an extension (line 3):

Example 1.6 [Green:Thanksgiving] (in Lerner, 1992:254)

1 B Dave remember when we usetta wear the same size shoe?
2 (.)
3 D: **ye(hh)ah and we bought ah pair of shoes=es=same time?**

These connections between the joint construction of “sentences” and units of participation were remarked on quite early by Sacks (1992) in this famous example:

Example 1.7 Segment 2 (Sacks, 1992:144,145)

1 JOE (cough) We were in an automobile discussion,
2 HEN **discussing the psychological motives for**
3 MEL **drag racing on the streets.**

Sacks remarks that “there probably isn’t any better way of presenting the fact that ‘we are a group’ than by building a new sentence together” (1992:322), and highlights the connections between syntax and social organisation.

Likewise, Hayashi (2003), in his detailed study of Japanese, discusses how in cases like these, completion by a co-participant can be used to “show to one another that (...) their minds are together” (p.29). In these cases of anticipatory completion, co-participants display understanding of the activity and stance in progress and do so either from their independent access or from their mutual knowledge –though this distinction may be consequential–, B is seen to attribute to A, through a pre-emptive completion, a version of the end of their own turn, one that makes a confirmation or

rejection relevant in third position. This brings about a change in participation frameworks (i.e. speakership and reciprocity roles; Goffman, 1981) and the positioning of participants with respect to the activity in action (Lerner, 1996a). As Lerner (1996a) puts it, collaborative completions may enable co-participants to “convert the production of a turn's talk by other-than-author/owner into production by self- as-author/owner” (p.318). In other words, these collaborative forms of turn-sharing trigger a shift in footing (Goffman, 1981), with co-participants “animating”, i.e., doing the voices of others. This will become relevant for the central practice of this thesis, co-animation.

Example 1.8 [CDHQ:II] (Lerner, 1996b:241)

- 1 Mar: Now most machines don't record that slow. So I'd wanna
2 when I make a tape,
3 Jos: **be able tuh speed it up.**
4 Marty: Yeah.

Once A offers acceptance of the completion (e.g. as in line 4 above), “a shared perspective is sequentially and interactively accomplished” (Hayashi, 2003:30), as B is confirmed to have provided a version that shows an adequate “vicarious understanding” (p.37). Because of how these forms of association and attribution work, co-participants may exploit them for “subversive” purposes (Bolden, Hepburn, & Potter, 2019), or to manage potentially problematic preference issues by providing independent or playful versions that orient to the relaxing of the “speak on your own behalf” preference (Lerner, 1996a).

Repair

Self-aggregation into a collectivity can also be made explicit through self-repair practices (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007) involving pronouns and noun phrases. In the example (1.9) below, Beth is seen to be evoking, through self-repair (“I” > “we”, line 5),

a collectivity of that involves both co-present and absent members (herself and her partner):

Example 1.9 [Toerien Beauty Salon 7] (in Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007:533, line organisation edited)

1 CLI Well it's your wedding=
2 =it's a bit different [to Christmas isn't it
3 BTH [Yea::h
4 (0.2)
5 BTH **I've got- we've got** the option of bringing it sort of
6 forwards by about a month but uhm (0.2) that's
7 about as much as we can do to bring it forward cost wise

These forms of self-aggregation (or oppositely, self-extraction) through repair, first lay bare an orientation to collective units, while also making relevant other party incumbents who may not be present but are invoked into the here-and-now. This is a point that will be foregrounded later in our discussion of association and animation.

Another study of repair that foregrounds collectivities is that of Bolden (2013), though it focuses on Other-repair. One of the main claims in Bolden's work is that "the analytic concept of Self as an individual speaker who produced the trouble source should be replaced with the concept of self as sometimes multi-person party" (p.7). Bolden's study focuses on the epistemic experience and expertise that may be used by the co-participant to join an ongoing repair resolution process, whether collectively addressed when in equal epistemic status, or even when unaddressed (p.25), and in so doing, "reflexively enacting their co-membership in a party of speakers" (p.26).

The following example (1.10) shows an interaction between relatives: nursing student Allyson has announced to her mother Candice (also in the medical field) and to Bethany, another present relative, that she is taking a test for "phrobonomy" (line 1). Bethany initiates repair by addressing Allyson, (line 3) who is assisted in her repair

solution by Candice ("phlebotomy", lines 8 and 10), who also shares relevant epistemic expertise. This is managed through a complex interplay of gaze patterns and overlap.

Example 1.10 Phlebotomy (LC2; 3:30) (In Bolden, 2013:23-24, adapted for readability)

1 ALL: But th'one for ph(r)obonomy, not the nonep for thuh::
((ALL and CAN are looking at each other))
((BETH is looking down))
2 (.)
3 BET: For what?=
4 ALL: =dialys[is ().]
5 CAN: [Mm::::.] ((with mouth full of food))
6 BET: Barphamany? ((BETH looks at her food))
7 ALL: °No[:.°
8 CAN: **[t! Phlebotomy.**
((CAN and BETH look down; ALL looks at CAN))
9 ALL: °Phle[botomy.° ((continues to look at CAN))
10 CAN: **[(tho) ehm | (0.2) t! takin' your blood out.**
((CAN extends her arm and demonstrates taking blood))
((ALL looks down, brings pita to her mouth))
((ALL looks up to CAN))
((BETH look at CAN))
11 (4.0) ((everybody is eating))
12 BET: You gonna be tested on that? ((to ALL))

Bolden argues that when it comes to repair, at least, "Self should be seen not as a person who has produced the repairable but as a party that may be inhabited by several interlocutors acting as a *with* or a collectivity." (2013: 26, our italics). Along similar lines, Egbert (1997) offers evidence of how other-repair can be used to build collectivities around the same trouble source against a person whose talk is treated as a repairable by a group of participants, in a way resembling what Bruxelles & Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004) have identified for "coalitions" in multi-person interaction. Similarly, Clift (2016) asserts that Self and Other are to be considered categories of parties rather

than of individuals (p.234). Therefore, all these practices show how co-participants appear to go beyond the “doing together” which is characteristic of all interaction as a shared accomplishment, in order to blend or fuse as “single, compound units of agency” (Enfield & Kockelman, 2017a:11), somehow doing something “as one” by “doing being X together”. The next section addresses the implications of association in more detail.

1.2.2 Association: structural and relational concerns

The discussion so far has shown that the interactional construction of a collectivity, in other words, the display of *association*, presents an interplay between a) *structural* aspects of the interaction, with at least two participants apparently speaking as a single party during one or more turns, thus “doing things together as one” through selection, anticipatory completion, or repair, and b) *affiliative/relational* issues, with the teaming-up happening around emergent concerns in the here-and-now of the interaction that make a joint identity or joint Self relevant, particularly, but not exclusively, around epistemics and shared perspectives.

Practices like anticipatory completions, joint repair solutions of the speech of a third participant, and the selection of a collective of participants for speakership have been defined by conversation analysis as ways in which this momentary fusion or merging of participants is achieved in interaction. These forms of turn organisation have been deemed associative in that they are employed as forms in which participants “become a party to” (Jefferson, 1990:81) an ongoing activity. They are considered a “vehicle for broadening the units of participation in conversation from individual participants to broader social entities” (Lerner, 2002:250) and furnish a way to “construct mutual participants in activities that include both a shared entitlement to voice an utterance, and reciprocal reciprocity” (ibid.). These practices are said to create “conversational

duets" (Falk, 1980), by which participants display that "each of their contributions counts on both their behalfs" (p.508).

However, the blurring of Self-Other boundaries and the resulting creation of single parties does not result in a single form of association. In the cases analysed above, co-participants were found to either speak on behalf of themselves and others, and in that way seem to be opposing or orienting to the presence of another team or perspective, but also, they were seen to speak on behalf of others, "doing being" others, co-opting speakership roles to demonstrate understanding and agreement and self-aggregate to the claims made by another participant. Thus, our definition of association in this thesis will consider these two possible forms, that of **"B 'doing being' A"**, or **"B 'doing being' A+B"**:

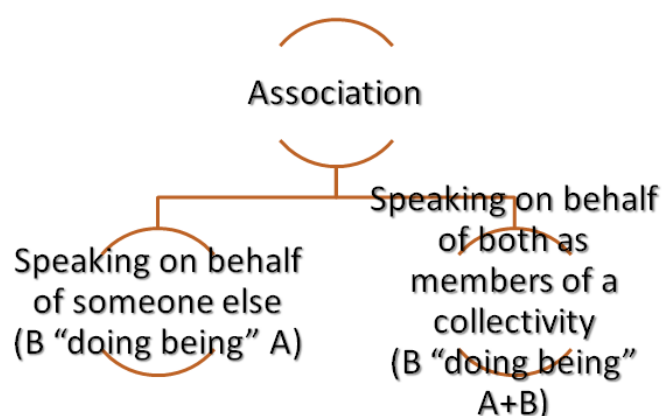


Figure 1.1 Schematic representation of two forms of association

Association can then be defined as the interactional creation of a single party or single unit of participation between two or more speakers, which can be organisational, relational, or circumstantial (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007). When this happens, co-participants are no longer said to be following the "talk on your own behalf" maxim (Lerner, 1996a; Sacks, 1975), but rather, to be speaking as a member of a larger interactionally relevant group, or alternatively, acting as an individual self-aggregating to the claims of another participant, thus retrospectively forming a collective with

shared views or epistemic experience or expertise (Bolden, 2013), creating joint identities.

These joint social units may be recognisable and more permanent social collectivities (e.g. couples, members of the same political party) that become relevant and are invoked in talk, but they may also be temporary participant "mergings" around an ad-hoc interactionally-constructed issue. As Lerner (1993:241) argues, these units are "moment-by-moment achievements", and they have boundaries, in that they are "initiated, sustained, and terminated".

Another important issue concerns the wider social affordances of these forms of fusion. Individual social identities, that is, the public images of ourselves, a composite of attributes and values, are "interactively constituted and locally managed" (Günthner 2007: 436), and so are collective identities enacted and situated accomplishments (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007). Therefore, it is important to see how these moral values become relevant and are negotiated through talk. Lerner and Kitzinger (2007) find that forms of self-reference are a way of naming and invoking these collectivities, though it is also true that these forms of self-identification are often done through comparison (Luckmann, 1979 in Günthner 2007) against absent parties. In most cases, the presentation of identities is not done explicitly, that is, except in those cases where participants present categories, assessment or attributes that they apply to themselves in response to particular emergent topics or issues, participants are not continuously manifestly defining who they are and what they stand for. A number of intricate and implicit ways may be employed for this, and one way of doing this is by establishing a contrast with what we are not, describing or enacting the attributes or states of affairs that we find reprehensible. And in order to do that, we may need to "do be" others and turn them into assessable objects in the here-and-now of the interaction, something which will be a key issue in the present work.

The studies reviewed above have described associative practices mostly in multi-party, multi-person interaction, particularly in assisted storytelling (Lerner, 1992; Mandelbaum, 1987) and arguments (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990), where participants organise as interactional collectivities such as couples, or individuals acting together in taking sides against another party. The current research will locate and describe a specific associative-relevant practice in mostly dyadic or two-person interaction, where participants may not have a *visible* second party to associate against/towards. It is in orientation to the "invisibility" in the here-and-now of certain evoked parties in interaction that co-participants may find forms of creating fleeting collectivities around ad-hoc issues against absent parties or positions that are brought to the here-and-now, and this is what the next section will introduce with the practice that concerns our work: co-animation.

1.3 An understudied practice for association: co-animation

So far we have listed a number of practices that display co-participants acting in concert as a team, indexing joint incumbency in a party in interaction and contributing to the building of joint identities. We have defined association as involving participants speaking on behalf of others, or on behalf of Self + Other as a collective, thus displaying that a certain role or identity is shared. The present work will focus on another practice that makes participation and association relevant in a very complex and laminated way, a way that does not only involve "speaking on behalf of" someone, but also speaking "as" someone else: *co-animation*.

Let us introduce our second example (1.11) of co-animation as an associative practice. Karen and Angie, friends, are discussing long-distance relationships. At this point,

Karen, whose boyfriend lives in another continent, is telling Angie about her having announced to her mother that her boyfriend might be moving to the UK with her:

Example 1.11 MCY07BOTTLE "Calm Down" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

01 KAR <<:-) >↑↑but ↓yeah- > hh°
02 we ll `see how it goes;
03 like i was talking to my `parents,
04 my uh? (0.3) mums are `mums. = ↓arent they,>
05 and ↑[she] was uh° (0.3)
06 ANG [hm]
07 KAR getting ↑all ex`cited about the idea that °h lih°ke
08 °h <<sty, br> **we ll be** ↑settling ↓down togethe:r>=
09 =and i was like?
10 ↑just ↓calm `d[o:wn:],]
11 ANG [yeah;]

In the here-and-now of the ongoing interaction, Karen introduces the voice of the mother (line 8) with a stylised contour and breathy voice quality, and thus opens an alternative space of interaction where the voice and behaviour of the mother is brought to the here-and-now. In this alternative space, the animation space (see Chapter 4) of the there-and-then, the addressee of the mother's answer is Past Karen, who is also given a voice (line 10) through an imperative ("calm down") that is not treated by Angie as being addressed to her. So the speaker in the here-and-now, Karen, presents herself both as speaker and as recipient in the there-and-then of the reported dialogue, while also lending her voice to a party that is absent, whose voice becomes topicalised in the here-and-now (see schematic representation in figure 1.2).

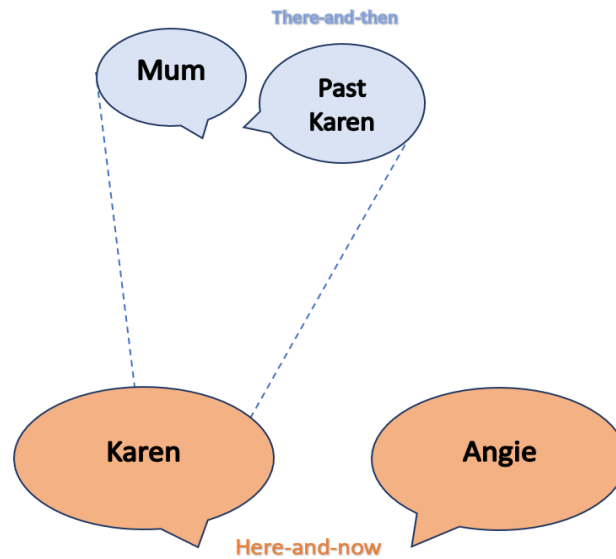


Figure 1.2 Schematic representation of the interaction between the animation space and the interactional space of the here-and-now

The animation space where this interaction between Karen and her mother happens is part of the here-and-now -even though its content is not anchored in it- and thus the introduction of the animation is consequential to the ongoing interaction, as it makes a display of understanding and possibly affiliative response relevant, that Angie starts to offer in overlap in line 11.

We will return to the definition of animation in Chapter 2, but it could be anticipated that some of its key features are: the deictic displacement in pronouns and demonstratives that are anchored in a different (real or fictional) place and/or time, and the attribution of voices to absent parties in the here-and-now, all of which are done unproblematically in interaction. Animation constitutes a form of dramatic "replaying", (re)enactment, or demonstration of a past, hypothetical, habitual, or imaginary event where different voices are staged. That is, animation creates a new conversational space (what we will call the "animation space") where different voices, produced by the same animator, converge and interact, and thus new social units are created, to which participants in the here-and-now can associate with or distance themselves from. As Clark (2016) establishes, during depictions "people jointly engage

in two simultaneous layers of activity" (p.340), the actual world ("the here-and-now") and the displaced world (the "there-and-then").

If we return to our example, we can see that in staging the voice of her Mum and her displaced self, Karen is presenting other perspectives, is "doing being" herself in a different place and time and also "doing being" others. Simultaneously, in the here-and-now, she is found to align or disalign with each those perspectives, adopting a critical stance towards her mother's reaction.

In the ongoing interaction in the here-and-now, the deployment of her animation makes relevant an alignment with one of these perspectives for the recipient, Angie in this case. If we focus on what happens next, we see that this interplay of voices and perspectives becomes more complex and laminated:

Example 1.11 MCY07BOTTLE "Calm Down" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
09      =and ˈi was like?
10      ↑just ↓calm ˈd[o:wn:,]
11 ANG                                     [ˈyeah:]
12      calm [ˈdown,]
13 KAR                                     [tsahh°]
14 ANG [ˈdɒnt get too aˈhead] of yourself?
15 KAR [ˈnɦɦ                                     ]
16      eˈxact[ly:]
17 ANG                                     [mm ]
```

Angie takes up the voice Karen has just been animating, repeats the animated content (line 12), and provides a reformulated version (line 14) that unpacks the stance in Karen's animated reaction to her mother's response to the news, also by prosodically matching the rising pitch contours in Karen's production. Angie then is seen to be entering the animation space, "doing being" Karen in that situation, while also "doing

being” Present Karen, speaking on her behalf as she also engages in animation, continuing the ongoing animation (see representation in figure 1.3). Thus, Angie is seen to be jointly animating the same voice, that is, doing **co-animation** (cfr. *chiming in*, Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; *resonant voiced direct reported speech*, Niemelä, 2011; *Echo Reported Speech*, Guardiola & Bertrand, 2013).

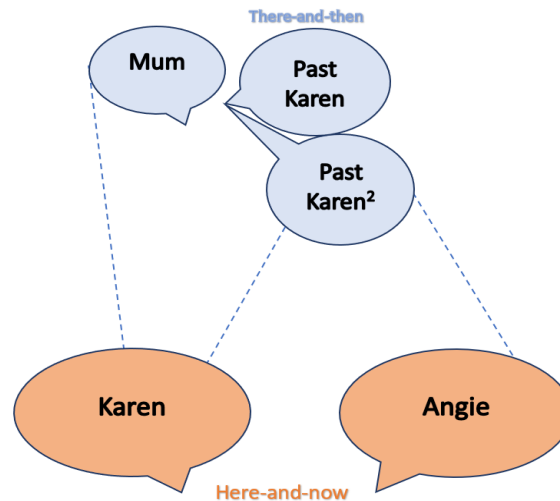


Figure 1.3 Schematic representation of the phenomenon of *co-animation*

Karen’s “exactly” (line 16) validates Angie’s contribution from the here-and-now, outside the animation space. This offers a similar kind of reversal of roles found for collaborative productions like the anticipatory completions described above: a first speaker is found to endorse a contribution made on their own ongoing contribution.

As the following chapters will demonstrate, co-animations like the one deployed by Angie do more than speaking on behalf of another co-participant: they simultaneously demonstrate understanding of the ongoing activity and the affiliation made relevant as a response, and they use a practice that involves the joining-in of a voice to present a certain possibly transgressive form of behaviour as jointly sanctionable. In other words, responsive animations of the same voice will be used as displays of momentary

association around shared values and identities against “invisible” but invoked other perspectives.

The issue of *co*-animations has not been as widely studied in interaction. The closest antecedent is that of resonance in conversational storytelling (Niemelä, 2010; 2011; Siromaa, 2005), a study of multimodal instances of voiced direct reported speech (DRS) in multi-party co-tellings. Niemelä’s observation that “responding to voiced DRS with subsequent DRS can be more or less an ordered phenomenon in interaction” (2005: 216) is further explored in this research. Similar antecedents (also discussed in detail in chapter 3), include references to the “chiming in” phenomenon in Couper-Kuhlen (1999), and Echo Reported Speech in Guardiola & Bertrand (2013).

The connection between animation, association, and the building of joint identities has been discussed in some prior research. Holt (2007) has studied reported speech as sequences of joint enactments in joking and teasing episodes, and addresses issues of unit-ness by citing Mathis and Yule (1994): “[m]erging their voices to become that of a character appears to be...[a] way in which the speakers underscore their sameness” (1994: 75). Similarly, in her study of the interactional construction of alterity, Günthner, 2007 describes reported speech as:

“...a resource speakers creatively and strategically draw upon to contextualise social types and do identity work. Reporters not only evaluate the quoted characters and their behaviour but implicitly position themselves and construct their own identity, i.e. the construction of alterity is closely connected to the reporters’ own identity management.” (Günthner, 2007:419)

All these studies reveal that the practice of animation makes relevant processes of identification and affiliation through evaluation and the construction of Otherness, and

that it is a resource for interactional identity-construction, which reveals the social import of co-animation as a practice.

All things considered, co-animation appears to be a privileged arena for distributed agency to be instantiated and single social units/identities to be constructed, though it is less clear what actions co-participants achieve with it. The answer may lie in the **position and composition** of co-animation: like in other associative practices, co-animations display temporal, sequential, lexico-grammatical, prosodic, and embodied resources that resonate with previous talk, and which give co-participants clues as to how they are to be related, as well as to which levels of independent agency have been retained. Co-animations also make relevant an acceptance or rejection of the contribution of the co-participant by the producer of the host turns. This turn in third position (or second, if the resulting social unit is seen as one participating party), whenever present, could act as a confirmation that the proposed co-construction and retrospective entry into a single unit has been accepted. This position can also act as a slot for sanctioning either the overstepping of roles, or the content of the words ascribed to the voice animated. Whether accepted or rejected, participants seem to exploit the potential of co-animation to momentarily blur the Self-Other distinction for interactional ends in different ways in different social activities, and this will be the main concern of our work.

1.4 Research questions

This study will analyse the practice of co-animation and examine how it is organised and deployed in a collection of 10 hours of ordinary English interaction. By studying the practice in detail in its unelicited contexts of production, it will be shown how: a) co-participants use co-animation to display association, that is, to display a form of

negotiation of temporary joint units of participation around a particular identity issue; and b) the practice is jointly designed and positioned to such an end.

More specifically, this thesis will seek to answer the following questions:

- a) How is co-animation as a practice **occasioned and organised**?
 - What social activities is co-animation found to be operating in?
 - What are the sequential environments in which responsive animations emerge?
 - What social actions are made relevant at the point in which responsive co-animations happen? What social actions are they embodying?
 - How are the entries into and exits from animation jointly negotiated?
- b) How are first and responsive animations **designed**?
 - What (bundles of) verbal and non-verbal resources are deployed and oriented to in the production of (co)animation?
 - How are responsive animations made **hearable/visible as the continuation** of an animation of the same prior voice?
- c) How do co-animations contribute to the **creation of joint collectivities and identities**?
 - What structural and relational issues do co-animations manage?
 - How are the boundaries between Self and Other made permeable through co-animation?
 - What are the relational consequences of the deployment of animation in different social activities?

1.5 Organisation of the thesis

The current work will be organised around two axes: first, the description of the formal and structural features around co-animation as a practice, and the way in which B's responsive contributions are made hearable as a co-animation; and second, the social-relational actions that co-animation instantiates in the activities in which it is found to happen in the collection: complaints and troubles-tellings on the one hand, and teasing and joint fictionalisation on the other.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature around what we have chosen to call "animation". It critically describes the contributions of literary, discourse-pragmatic and interactional studies that inform the current work, as well as outlining a number of underexplored issues that this thesis will address and expand further on.

Chapter 3 describes the data, details the collection and analysis processes, explains the transcription conventions, and discusses the methodological tenets adopted around the study of interaction from a multimodal perspective, particularly around the study of phonetics and gesture.

Chapter 4 is the first of two chapters that adopt an interactional-linguistic approach to the study of the collection of co-animations. This chapter introduces the notion of "animation space" and focuses on how co-participants open, sustain, and close the animation space through sequence organisation and the deployment of different semiotic resources. Through an overview of the features of the collection, the chapter anticipates some of the participant problems and interactional demands around the deployment of a first animation and of a responsive co-animation, to focus on the way co-participants manage the concurrent interactional duties of flagging an animation as such, while projecting or fulfilling conditional relevance and stance displays.

Chapter 5 focuses entirely on responsive co-animations and analyses the sequential, lexico-grammatical, prosodic, and gestural-postural aspects that make responsive animations coherent with first animations. The discussion is divided between those co-animations that begin before a transition-relevance place has been made relevant for the first animation, that is, pre-completion animations, and those happening post-possible completion. Design differences and their epistemic and agentive affordances are described in detail.

The next two chapters focus on the activities in which co-animation has been found to happen in the collection. Chapter 6 describes the deployment of first animations and the use of responsive animations in troubles-tellings and indirect complaints. It focuses on the sequential environment in which these are introduced and the moral issues around it, and it shows how co-animation may be a form of introducing an empathic response and indexing shared values.

Chapter 7 studies co-animation in teasing episodes and in the building of joint fictions. It demonstrates how co-animation emerges from “extraordinary” contingencies in the here-and-now that either affect the self-presentation of one of the co-participants, or which block or delay progressivity of the activity in progress. This chapter describes how animation and the co-creation of non-serious, humorous, fictions is a key element in co-participants’ interactional definition of what counts as shared values and identities to enact complicit and creative productions that sequentially delete any emergent transgressions or trouble.

Chapter 8 summarises the key findings of the thesis and presents some implications of the study as well as areas for further development.

2. Literature Review: “What’s in a name...?” Defining Animation

2.1 Introduction: Naming as defining the phenomenon

In Chapter 1, it was established that this research seeks to show how new multi-person units of participation may be momentarily built in interaction by bringing other voices to the here-and-now and jointly “doing being” past selves or others. An important part of why this is possible lies in the nature of the actual practice itself, what we have called *animation*. The aim of this literature review will be to foreground some of the characteristics of animation found in prior work from multiple perspectives, and explain, through the overview of competing labels used and their assumptions, why the name “animation” best fits our practice.

Our second example of co-animation in Chapter 1 (1.3, MCY07BOTTLE “Calm Down”, reproduced below), or of what is traditionally called “reported speech”, shows how participants unproblematically deal with the staging of other voices in the here-and-now of the interaction, smoothly ascribing authorship, stances, and social actions to its deployment unproblematically, and they are found to use animation for different courses of action in the here-and-now without having to repair any ascription issues, with the actions being recognised and responded to.

Example 2.1 MCY07BOTTLE “Calm down” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
01 KAR <<:-) >↑↑¯but ↓¯yeah- > hh°  
02     we ll `see how it goes;  
03     like i was talking to my `parents,  
04     my uh? (0.3) mums are `mums. = ↓´arent they,>  
05     and ↑[¯she] was uh° (0.3)
```

06 ANG [ˈhm]
07 KAR getting ↑all ex`cited about the idea that °h lih°ke>
08 °ah **we ll be ↑settling ^down to-gether=**
09 =and ˈi was like?
10 ↑**just** ↓**calm** ´d[o:wn:,]
11 ANG [ˈyeah;]
12 **calm** [´down,]
13 KAR [tsahh°]
14 ANG [**ˈdont get too a´head**] **of your self?**
15 KAR [°nhh]
16 e`xact[ly;]=
17 ANG [mm]

In order to understand how this comes to happen, and eventually, to explain how co-animation (as in lines 12 and 14) emerges, we need to analyse the basic aspects of the phenomenon and what has been said about the practice of animation in almost a century of its study (see Buchstaller, 2013; Güldemann, von Roncador, & van der Wurff, 2002 for a thorough historical review). It is impossible to do justice in the limited space of this chapter to all the body of work accumulating since the early 20th century, which is particularly rich around the study of written language and literary texts. In spite of the great coverage of “reported speech” as a practice, very little has been said in comparison about its role and configuration in spoken language and particularly in everyday interaction, with the exception of relatively recent conversation analytic work (e.g. Bolden, 2004; Couper-Kuhlen, 2007; Drew, 1998; Drew & Walker, 2009; Goodwin, 2007; Holt, 1996, 2000, 2016; Holt and Clift, 2007; Niemelä, 2010; Niemelä, 2011) and discourse-semantic work by, for example, Tannen (1986, 2007), among others.

This chapter will review some key theories and research around animation, particularly around the social actions and interactional implications of the use of the practice, in order to specify the assumptions that inform the current research. The formal linguistic and multimodal features of animation as defined in the literature and identified in our

collection will be exemplified and further spelled out in Chapters 4 and 5, where *co-animation* as a relatively undescribed and understudied practice, will be introduced in more detail.

The phenomenon of what we have decided to call “animation” has been studied through a number of different lenses. Evidence for this lies in the variety of names and perspectives from which the practice that interests us has been studied: *reported speech and thought* (e.g. Bolden, 2004; Clift, 2006; Coulmas, 1986; Holt, 2006; Li, 1986); *polyphony and dialogism* (Bahtin, 1982; Ducrot, 1984; Voloshinov, 1971); *heteroglossia*, within the theory of *appraisal: engagement* (Martin & White, 2005); *quotation* (e.g. Brendel, Meibauer, & Steinbach, 2011; Buchstaller, 2013; Mayes, 1990; Sams, 2010); *demonstrated heterogeneity* (Authier-Revuz, 2014/1984); *constructed discourse* (Tannen, 1987, 2007); *(re)enactment, depictions, and demonstrations* (e.g. Clark & Gerrig, 1990; Sidnell, 2006; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014); *animation* (Goffman, 1981), among many others. In order to define the practice and to explicate what theoretical assumptions will be made in this study based on interactional evidence, this chapter will make a review of names and their associated implications throughout the literature.

This chapter will discuss some defining characteristics of animation in terms of its relation to reality and its (re-)construction of past, iterative, or fictional events. It will introduce some theory around the deictic displacement that animation entails and its consequences, such as the display of detachment and non-seriousness. It will make an overview of the ways in which speakers position themselves around the animation content and what the interactional implications of these forms of stance and positioning have been found to be. Finally, it will review the limited number of studies that act as antecedents to our own research on co-animation.

2.2. Animation and animated content

The widespread use of the name “**reported speech**” appears to imply, first, that it is only speech that is reported, and this assumes a verbal-only component to the quoted content. Likewise, the also widely-used term “**quotation**” may be taken to mean that the practice is about a chunk of verbal behaviour that is transposed or “imported” (Couper-Kuhlen, 2007) faithfully from one context to another, and that it is about speech that has actually been produced previously, apart from also somehow implying that “quotation” can be neatly marked apart from other forms of speech, as quotation marks would do in written language. These assumptions, though not necessarily shared by all who have used these terms, still bear that bias in them, which is why this section will discuss the **types of content** that is generally animated in the light of the findings in the literature, in order to address these biases.

2.2.1 Animation content and “reality”

The first aspect to analyse is the relation between the animated content and “reality”. This is a key element in the study of our practice, since as chapters 6 and 7 will show, there are epistemic (Raymond & Heritage, 2006) and relational consequences in animating past, habitual, hypothetical, or fictional events.

Whereas all animations imply a deictic displacement from the here-and-now, the displacement from reality (Clark & Gerrig, 1990), that is, the fit between the real world and history and the world of the animation, needs to be also considered to explain the social actions and consequences of animation.

Animation may involve the bringing to the here-and-now the **content of prior interaction**, giving recipients access to what Terraschke (2013) calls “event descriptive”

content. Non-fictional depictions are presented to make the distal (depicted content) fit the real world (Clark, 2016) in the here-and-now in order to ensure joint access to the displaced world (p.341). That is, a speaker may be seen and heard to be quoting the words of another in a specified place and time, and all deictic elements are heard to be anchored in that *origo* or reference/perspective point (Bühler, 1990).

Whereas conversational storytelling may have very precise temporal-spatial coordinates for reported action, not all forms of animation in interaction would specify these, but still present reported action as anchored in a past situation, irrespective of how accurate, specific, or authentic the form of the animated content may be. This is often the case with reported content that is **ambiguous between speech actually having been produced, and thought**. Therefore, it is not only previously-spoken words that can be animated, as it has been widely described that (“verbally uncommitted”, Chafe, 1994) **thoughts, inner-states, inner monologues, and decisions** are also “reported” (Buchstaller, 2004; Golato, 2002; Haakana, 2007; Webb, Pilnick, & Clegg, 2018; see also section 2.6 for interactional studies discussing their deployment).

These representations of inner states are introduced as anchored in a particular situation as a response or reaction to a specific event, and may, then, also have a clear spatio-temporal reference point. In the “Calm down” example (2.1 above), Karen’s response to her Mum may not have been, in fact, uttered, and these boundaries between what constitutes speech and what thought are further blurred by one of the lexical resources often used to frame the “reporting”, what is known as a “quotative” (Buchstaller, 2013; Lampert, 2013; Robles, 2015; Romaine & Lange, 1991; see also section 2.4). Differently from the usual “say” or “tell”, the now ubiquitous prefaces like “be like” or “go” do not necessarily imply that a contribution has been audibly

produced. It will be seen in later chapters how this ambiguity contributes to building safer spaces for co-animation to be produced.

Reported speech and thoughts need not be anchored in a particular past situation, but they may also be presented as **habitual, iterative, or stereotypical forms of acting** in a particular context. Terraschke (2013) calls these “abstract” quotative content, used to “characterise an attitude embedded within a description of a recurring type of situation”, but also to “exemplify a concept or an idea” (p.66).

Stukenbrock (2017:238), citing Goffman (1974:506), rightly argues that “our ability to insert ourselves empathetically into nonpresent events is not restricted to the past, but can also concern anticipated future, conditional, or even entirely fictitious events”. Animated content may be fabricated, it may create a new world displaced not only in time and place, but also, in “reality”. This is what Terraschke calls “general” quotative content, and this can be done through the creation of **hypothetical/alternative present scenarios** -generally in a counterfactual or negative connection to the present (Ehmer, 2011), enacting what the present is not-, **future happenings and/or fictions**, as well as **ventriloquism** (Goffman, 1974; Tannen, 2004, 2010), i.e. the attribution of speech and/or thought to inanimate objects. These kinds of animation are important for our study as our collection features a considerable number of these reality-displaced animations that occur in extended sequences of playful co-animation (see Chapter 7).

Often when animated content is hypothetical or imaginary, it is introduced incrementally as a result of a creative imaginative endeavour occasioned by the here-and-now (Clark, 2016; Holt, 2006; Kotthoff, 1999; Pascual, 2014; Stallone & Haugh, 2017), as in **fictionalisation and joint fantasising or joint pretence** (see Chapter 7). Practices like ventriloquism, which involves “someone who cannot speak for

themselves and whose inner dialogue is voiced by a third party" (Webb et al., 2018) also reveals that quotation may not have a reporting function at all (Stec, Huiskes, & Redeker, 2015) and that quotation, is, in fact, a creative act (Webb et al., 2018).

These latter forms of "origo displacement" (Bühler, 1990) refer back to the three forms of deixis by which the speaker 1) refers to absent phenomena as if present in the here-and-now; 2) displaces their origo to an imagined space, 3) or as a form of "deixis am phantasma" through which the "immediate space is expanded imaginatively to include liminal phenomena on the border between presence and absence" (Stukenbrock, 2017:248). These perspectives on joint imagining support a view of cognition and imagination as situated and jointly constructed phenomena in interaction (Ehmer, 2011, Schegloff, 1991; Stukenbrock, 2017), which is essential to our understanding of co-animation.

2.2.2 Authenticity and selectivity in animated content

Whether the relation to reality is that of fiction or nonfiction is also consequential in interaction, particularly around epistemics. When an animation is presented as a version of something that has been said or done before, the use of terms such as "quotation" bring to the surface issues around "authenticity" and "fidelity" relative to the situation of production of the original utterance(s). Tannen (1986) claims that "the attribution of 'exact fidelity' seems naive to the point of absurdity" (p.320), and Clark & Gerrig (1990) go as far as to emphasise that authenticity and verbatim quotation is not only not feasible, but also generally not aimed at. This is supported by Stec et al. (2015): "speakers are often more committed to preserving the intended meaning of an utterance than its form" (p.532). As Buchstaller (2013:50) establishes, animations are "approximative reproductions of original behaviour", and they seem to only need to be "good enough". Therefore, unless the exact content of a prior speech event is

topicalised, it then appears that fidelity is not of importance to participants (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992). The relevance of this for our study of co-animation lies in the fact that often co-participants doing it are found to not hold first-hand knowledge of the events (re)enacted, and this “relaxation” of authenticity is one of the things that may facilitate co-animation by less knowing participants.

The fact that not all animated content is said to be a reproduction to talk that has happened led Tannen (1986, 1995) to coin the term “constructed dialogue” as a replacement for “reported speech”, solving the concerns with authenticity and fidelity, though again, the use of “dialogue” might show a bias towards animation being only a verbal matter. The idea of “**construction**”, on the other hand, highlights two important transformational aspects of the deployment of animation: the idea that “selecting words and transposing them to a new context is a **creative** act” (Webb et al., 2018), and **selectivity**, the fact that introducing animation during the development of an activity is an act of selective transformation which is done from a particular vantage point. As Clark & Gerrig (1990) state, “what speakers commit themselves to in a quotation is the depiction of selected aspects of the referent. Verbatim reproduction per se has nothing to do with it” (p.795). Our “Calm down” case (reproduced below), for instance, shows how “loose” the animation of the voice of the mother seems to be (line 8), not prefaced in any way as a purported verbatim reproduction:

Example 2.1 MCY07BOTTLE “Calm down” (reprised; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

05 and ↑[^ˈshe] was uh[°] (0.3)
06 ANG [^ˈhm]
07 KAR getting ↑all ex^ˈcited about the idea that °h lih[°]ke>
08 °ah **we ll be ↑settling ^down to-gether=**

Part of the selective, creative, and constructed transformation of an animation lies in the fact that animation is done through a decontextualisation/recontextualisation

process: Günthner, (1997) explains how the narrator “decontextualises the words of the original speaker from their embedding context and recontextualises them in the new context at hand” (p.1999), from a particular perspective and with an overlaid stance (see sections 2.5 and 2.6 below), and these are, in turn, functional and consequential to the here-and-now.

2.3 Animations as multimodal ensembles/constructions

It was established earlier that terms like “reported speech” and “quotation” may imply that a practice such as animation concerns verbal aspects alone. As demonstrated in numerous recent work on “quotation”, the introduction of other voices in the here-and-now of interaction constitutes a laminated (Goffman, 1981; Stukenbrock, 2017) and multimodal phenomenon (Blackwell, Perlman, & Fox Tree, 2015; Clark, 2016; Clark & Gerrig, 1990; Niemelä, 2010; Sidnell, 2006; Stec et al., 2015; Stec, Huiskes, & Redeker, 2016; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014) involving verbal, non-verbal, vocal and non-vocal resources (for a discussion of these terms, see e.g. Laver, 1994). Because a great part of participants’ concern with animation lies with not only the *content* but also the *form* with which a past or fictive utterance is produced, and because as will be demonstrated later, animations are imbued with the perspective of the animator, a number of resources are employed to concurrently contextualise all these different layers, including lexico-grammar, different prosodic parameters (pitch height, contour, range; loudness; voice quality; changes in accent; particular articulation features) and different gaze, gestural, and postural configurations, as well as facial expressions.

2.3.1 Multimodal animations as (re-)enactments

It was mentioned earlier how animations are selective and multimodal transformations of a prior or imagined production by Self or Other and they are presented from a

particular perspective, which is why they are normally more than “replayings” (Goffman 1974). Rather, they can be called “**demonstrations**” (Clark & Gerrig, 1990) or “**(re)enactments**” (Sidnell, 2006; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014), traceable to the theatrical and dramaturgical perspectives described in Goffman (1974, 1981 1978) and Wierzbicka (1974). Prior studies of quotation that consider it to be a whole multimodal gestalt have focused on how these resources are orchestrated and what the interactional consequences of this form of presentation are for speakers and hearers.

The nature of a depiction (Clark, 2016) or a demonstration (Clark & Gerrig 1990) is to create a **direct experience** for the hearer of something that the animator is said to have felt, seen, touched, or heard, as “physical analogs” of those experiences animated (Clark, 2016). As a result, hearers are enabled to experience what it is like to perceive the things depicted, (Clark & Gerrig, 1990), “by creating an illusion of the listener also being an eye-witness” (Sakita 2002:189 in Stec et al., 2015). The demonstration is of course partial and tinted by the interactional project of the animator, but the effect is that of witnessing the animation through the perspective adopted by the animator to “become engrossed in an event” and “reexperience it vividly” (Clark and Gerrig 1990:793). Because they “show rather than tell” (Holt, 2000:249), Clark and Gerrig (1990) claim that demonstrations are an economical resource especially when ineffability is an issue.

2.3.2 Multimodal contextualisation of animation boundaries and perspectives

A first question arising when it comes to assessing the role of all these simultaneously-deployed resources is then how they are all integrated to “form coherent courses of action” (Sidnell, 2016:379). There is first the analysis of the **temporality and directionality** of these resources, given that they may all have different onsets and trajectories, and this may be related to what aspects of the animation endeavour they

are contextualising. Some of these resources may be used to delineate the boundaries of animation and changes in participation frameworks, others may be deployed to overlay a stance over the action enacted, others simply to emulate the form in which the action was perceived to have been carried out.

One set of such resources doing this concurrent management is phonetics and prosody. Part of the richness of prosody as a resource lies in its simultaneously orienting to structural and affective concerns. Günthner (1999: 704), in her study of German interaction, systematises the role of prosody in reported speech to concurrently:

- a) contextualise whether an utterance is anchored in the reporting world or the storyworld;
- b) animate the quoted characters and to differentiate between the quoted characters;
- c) signal the speech activities and the affective stance of the reported characters;
- d) comment on the reported speech as well as on the quoted characters.

Unlike writing, where quotation boundaries can be clearly identified, speech offers less clear marking (Bolden, 2004; Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017; Golato, 2002; Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999). Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen (1999) especially discuss how prosody may function like quotation marks do in writing, though the boundaries of the quotation and of the prosodic shifts may not match. Prosodic shifts are also found to be part of the typification of different figures, which in extended tellings may contribute to the recipients' more effortless identification of the figure to whom certain speech may be attributed.

Moreover, Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999) identify a number of prosodic changes that tend to appear in clusters, like shifts in pitch register or range and volume, and changes in temporal features -generally in combination with the spectral features above-, such as speech rate, or through a shift to perceptually isochronous timing. They describe how left-hand boundaries are more regularly marked over right-hand ones, which is why they discuss the role of prosody as a form of “flagging” of reported speech, a way of marking of a “territory” rather than a boundary, which explains how prosody may even be used to foreshadow upcoming quotations (for a similar take on gesture and the foreshadowing of quotation, see Mandel & Ehmer, 2019). They also focus on how the prosodic formatting of a certain voice may actually “evolve” during the stretch of reported speech.

Along similar lines, Bolden (2004), in her study of Russian, focuses on whether there are orderly devices for doing “unquoting”. She identifies verbal devices like the re-framing or re-anchoring of deictic resources (“repositioning”), and also mentions the maintenance of a particular “marked prosody”. Bolden has found that it is very frequently the case that explicit markings of quotation may “fade out” during its production, creating ambiguity around the attribution of authorship, which is exploited for interactional purposes. Chapter 4 will explore how quoting and unquoting is done multimodally in our collection, and more importantly, what their interactional consequences are.

It was previously mentioned that together with the marking of quote boundaries, verbal and non-verbal resources can contribute to the marking of figures and perspectives from which the action is to be “seen”. Stec et al. (2016) build a parallel of bodily and gaze shifts in spoken languages with “role shift” and “constructed action” in signed languages, what is known as a “representational device for representing utterances, thoughts, feelings and or actions of one or more references with one or

more bodily articulators" (p.1). They have found that full bodily shifts and not just hand gestures contribute to the marking of viewpoints, but also to mimetically or iconically demonstrate specific aspects of the animated content.

In a different study, Stec, Huiskes, Wieling, & Redeker (2017) researched the deployment and interaction of multimodal articulators in connection to the voices animated and the positioning of these voices in longer stretches of animated dialogue. They found that the animation of past self is less multimodally marked than the animation of third parties, and that first mentions and later re-introductions of a particular voice are generally produced with character-viewpoint gestures (C-VPT, see also McNeill, 1992), that is, gestures produced from the perspective of the producer, versus observer-viewpoint gestures (O-VPT) that describe the actions as if seen from a distance. Similarly, Blackwell et al. (2015) attempted to quantify the amount of multimodal activity during quotation in their corpus and concluded that there is more vocal and bodily demonstration in direct quotations after the quotatives "be like", "go", and zero quotatives for fictive interaction, than in those introduced with "say", which revealed lower levels of bodily demonstration. So in a way, the dramaturgical quality of representation appears to be increased with fictional animations, another finding that our collection also exhibits.

Along similar lines, Stuckenbrock (2015) stresses the role of bodily position in (re)enactments for the marking of perspective and its complex interplay with spoken material. The author has found what could be called an "incongruence" between non-verbal and verbal behaviour: "speakers could be seen to be adopting observer viewpoints verbally while adopting character viewpoints with particular bodily behaviours" (Stuckenbrock 2015:248). That is, treating quotation as a multimodal ensemble reveals the rich **lamination and complexity** of animation as a phenomenon,

where different time-space-reality planes, voices and perspectives are cross-interacting.

2.3.3 Multimodal animation and the concurrent management of the here-and-now and the there-and-then

The work that animators as demonstrators or re-enactors engage in involves “weaving two habitats together” (Thompson & Suzuki, 2014): **the original event in a displaced world** (Clark, 2016), **and the re-enacting event**, each with their spatial dynamics, locations, movements, and roles. Moreover, the engagement with the actual world requires the management of emergent issues resulting from the deployment of the animation, such as trying to obtain matching assessments or appreciation. In this respect, Thompson et al (2014) and Sidnell (2006) highlight the role of gaze in the management of these two worlds. Sidnell (2006) has found that gaze (especially its withdrawal) is “delicately timed” (p.394) with the start and completion of the (re-)enactment to mark the return to the participation roles of the here and now, and to parse the storytelling into its components (see also Goodwin, 1984). Sidnell also demonstrates how gaze during (re-)enactments mobilises a form of appreciation, creating “moments of heightened coparticipation” (p.390) to “sustain a framework of participation” (p.377). Similarly, Thompson et al. (2014) have found that gaze is relevant to mark character roles and recruit co-participation in storytelling where animation is concerned in order to manage the “multi-modal, multi-party field of activity” (p.817)

In her studies of *deixis am phantasma*, Stukenbrock (2015, 2017) discusses the role of bodily behaviour in making permeable the boundaries between perception and imagination, understood as enacted and achieved in interaction and not purely a cognitive phenomenon. By gazing or pointing at, or by positioning themselves in particular ways in the shared space by both participants, recipients are invited to “leave

the third-person perspective and ‘empathetically insert themselves’ (Goffman 1974:504) into the imagined scenario.” (Stukenbrock, 2017:259). The author proposes that it is not only a layering of perspectives but also a layering of spaces and corporeal frames that occurs when (re-)enactments happen, where joint attention but also joint imagination become relevant (see also Ehmer, 2011).

This section has established that animation needs to be understood as a complex laminated multimodal phenomenon in which clusters of semiotic resources contribute to several simultaneous things in interaction such as a) the indexing of the shift into an animation space and b) the characterisation of a figure, while also c) anchoring in those animations to the here-and-now by contextualising a projected stance from a particular perspective. The study of co-animation in this thesis relies heavily on this interplay between the there-and-then and the here-and-now as a resource for animation, and on how co-participants navigate these two planes for association, something that chapters 4 to 7 will analyse in detail.

2.4 Animation, embedding, and modes of representation

It was anticipated earlier that quotation as a form of demonstration implies introducing a voice in the here-and-now from another real or fictional context of production, that is, whenever animation is deployed there is a deictic displacement. This means that the deictic centre, the *origo* (Bühler, 1990), the centre of I-you-here-now of reference of the animated content, routinely differs from that of the current situation of production.

In determining the bare basic components of quotation to make this displacement recognisable, Buchstaller (2013) stipulates that there should be at least a) a reported message, and b) some form of marking that this message comes from a source that is different from the reporting speaker or from a different *origo*. The speaker has a

number of options when it comes to incorporating these other voices to the here-and-now.

Traditional studies of reported speech have focused vastly on **modes of representation**, classifying speakers' presentation of reported material in terms of from whose deictic perspective they are presented grammatically, and whether the voices are presented directly, as if emulating the actual source, or through the perspective of the animator. Other categorizations explain the division in terms of levels of the marking of embedding to the current situation of enunciation/production (Clark & Gerrig, 1990) and the levels of independence between the quote and the quoted content. Other approaches study these types in terms of modes of more literal to most liberal forms of representation (Smirnova, 2009). So most of the literature has focused on the difference between what has been called "direct" versus "indirect" discourse, and literary studies developed these further, incorporating also forms like "free direct" and "free indirect" discourse.

Even though many studies are organised around the same "categories" of representation, these may not have been described from the same perspective. Moreover, the focus of this classification suffers from a "written language bias", assuming that the marking of the boundaries of quotation can be done categorically, and unequivocally. As will be shown later, the differences among these categories are not clear-cut in spoken interaction. Moreover, it could be wondered whether this distinction is really relevant for spontaneous speech at all, at least in the way in which it is defined (see the reflections at the end of this sub-section), which is why the space devoted to the review of these classes will be reduced, leaving only the details that resonate with our collection.

2.4.1 Direct reported speech (oratio recta)

“Direct reported speech” (DRS, henceforth) is usually done in such a way that both the content and possibly the form of the original utterance(s) are represented. There are, then, two aspects to be considered: one is the deictic anchoring of the animated content, and the other related aspect, is the “dramaturgical” side of it. An example from our collection would be:

Example 2.1 MCY07BOTTLE “Calm down” (reprised; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
09      =and ʔi was like?
10      ↑just ↓calm ˈd[o:wn: ,]
11 ANG                      [ˈyeah;]
```

Direct reported speech is said to bear clear marks of the disjunction between the two situations of enunciation happening simultaneously (García Negroni & Tordesillas Colado, 2001). In writing, direct speech is clearly marked by the use of quotation marks, often preceded by the specification of an actor followed by a verb of saying or thinking (a.k.a. *verbum dicendi*, or quotative). In speech, the framing of direct speech often presents a verbalisation of the author and the use of a quotative (more frequently “say”, “be like”, “go”, see Romaine & Lange, 1991, and Buchstaller, 2013 for an overview in the current collection, also Chapter 4), though in this category what is known as “free standing quotations” (Clark and Gerrig, 1990) can appear, and be unframed, with “zero quotatives” (Mathis and Yule, 1994), that is, lacking an explicit verbal quotative. These unmarked quotation beginnings have been found to start with turn-initial particles like “oh” or “well” (Mayes, 1990), but also with prosodic, or gestural shifts that may foreground the animation even before it is started or fade out before it is finished (Bolden, 2004; Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Günthner, 1999; Mandel & Ehmer, 2019).

The perspective adopted is that of the original speaker, evidenced in that all deictic elements (personal, spatial, temporal) are presented as if from the point of view of the author/producer of the original animation. So in terms of the quote, as Li (1986) explains, the “first and second person pronoun in a direct quote are respectively co-referential with the reported speaker and the reported addressee” (p.30). According to Li, direct reported speech suspends the usual referential function of deictic elements to use the reference points of the quoted speaker.

Because of the direct introduction of the voice, it has been said that the reporting speaker is evoking the original situation (Coulmas, 1986) by producing an “imitative echo” (Ducrot, 1984). However, as discussed earlier, authenticity does not seem to be a major concern in interaction - though it may, of course, become a repairable - but the vividness and immediacy that this form of presentation creates allows the recipient to experience the enacted actions “as if they were observing that person” (Clark and Gerrig 1990: 768), “vicariously reexperiencing what took place” (Goffman 1974:504; also see Chapter 6).

Buchstaller (2013) explains that in spite of possible overlap between the categories, direct speech can be most reliably recognised as such by the deictic vantage point from which the animated content is presented. She summarises direct reported speech as a practice that tends to “co-occur with re-enactments of previous actions, to be free in their syntactic form, have a deictic orientation to the experiencer, to freely incorporate extralinguistic material and pragmatic markers” (p.64). These forms of syntactic freedom make this format fit for the dynamics and speed of interaction, as well as allowing for creative forms of representation, which will become very relevant to the practice of co-animation.

2.4.2 Indirect reported speech (oratio obliqua)

The second most widely studied mode of representation is “indirect reported speech” (IRS), which presents some fusion between the voice of the animator and the figure. For this mode of representation it is believed there is no expectation of fidelity and the focus is on the presentation of content but not of the form. All aspects of the once-produced content are presented from the grammatical and pragmatic vantage point of the animator. An example of IRS from our corpus appears below:

Example 2.2 MCY01GEESE “Tennis” (GAT2 Minimal, adapted)

863 MAD **fred said he(.) he would teach me tennis**
864 but then he never (0.4)
865 ((goose hissing))
866 KAT °ah
867 MAD what (0.46)
868 but we came to realise
869 that id never played in my life (0.4)

The marking of the introduction of another voice is contextualised with the verbalisation of the author + verbum dicendi, it may be followed by the complementizer *that*, and for English, it often exhibits a back-shift in the verb tenses, meaning that “the verb in the complement clause must be shifted back into the past wherever this is possible” (Coulmas 1986:16). However, spoken language often contravenes the rule and presents cases of the use of the conversational historical present (CHP), a “form-function mismatch where activities and actions that have past temporal reference are encoded in non-past tense morphology” (Buchstaller, 2013:57). In English, temporal and spatial adverbs and demonstratives and possessives are also reoriented to the perspective of the animator in the here-and-now, so as Li (1986:34) explains, in IRS “the speaker normally uses himself/herself as a spatial point of reference and the time of utterance as a temporal point of reference”. A single situation

of enunciation is created as a result (García Negroni et al., 2001). One more grammatical observation would be that unlike DRS where the clauses could be seen to be independent (a topic debated in Buchstaller, 2013), the animated content is often grammatically dependent over the reporting clause (Li, 1986).

There are a number of implications of the deployment of this form of reported speech. To begin with, the issue of recontextualisation is more explicit here: through indirect reported speech the animator can be found to be summarising or glossing the content of a prior animation, facilitating “infiltration by the author to comment on or interpret the meaning of the quotation” (Holt, 2009: 193). It is the content rather than the form that is privileged and presented through the animator’s perspective and this voice comes to the fore (Coulmas, 1986), and in a way, the original speaker is not given a voice, directly. The formatting responds to a transposition of the there-and-then of the original message to a shared here-and-now of both the animator and their recipient. However, these forms of quotation do not become co-animations in our collection. This could be explained perhaps due to the process of ownership that the first animator has already indexed over the animated content, which is presented fully from the here-and-now, and with a rigid syntactic embedding structure that leaves less room for joint manipulation.

2.4.3 Free indirect speech (FIS, FID) and Free Direct Discourse (FDD)

Literary studies have given these forms a lot of attention. “Free indirect speech” (FID) is seen as a form for the representation of conscience that selectively presents content and form of an original production. This is a hybrid form that combines elements of direct and indirect speech, blurring the boundaries between the animator and the figure, who are simultaneously seen to be present, particularly the narrator figure who zooms in and out of the figure’s conscience and perception to provide access to the

recipient. Nonetheless, it cannot be said to be a faithful representation of what is said, but a recreation of the actual enunciation which mixes the voices of both enunciators who appear simultaneously (García Negroni et al., 2001).

On the other hand, free direct discourse is said to be infrequent in conversation, and differs basically from direct discourse in its lack of explicit punctuation marks: no colon or quotation marks. Some of the uses of FDD include the naturalization of the represented discourse as objective and unquestionable, somehow fused with the view of the locutor himself/herself. It resembles what Clark and Gerrig (1990) have called "incorporated quotations" through which current speakers engineer other voices within their containing utterances through depicting, but what is depicted is "simultaneously appropriated for use in the containing utterance" (p.790).

Even though these forms of representation are mostly literary, their characteristics fit in very well with what happens if we see quotation in speech as a multimodal phenomenon. The bodily (re)enactment of actions from a certain perspective, the adoption of a certain prosody, and the overlaying of the animator's own stance are forms that conflate the voice of the animator and the figure. Therefore, it is acknowledged that these forms of free direct and indirect discourse may have their own instantiations in everyday speech and may actually be more relevant to interaction than often given credit for, especially given the high levels of lamination through prosody and non-vocal behaviour. The question of whether free indirect or free direct discourse are perhaps more apt representations of animation in everyday conversation requires further exploration.

2.5 Animation and positioning

2.5.1 Animation, non-seriousness and detachment

It was established earlier that animation is a form of demonstration that is embedded in the here-and-now of an ongoing activity, and that it involves forms of displacement from reality, as well as from the here-and-now. What this displacement entails is that animations will have an element of **non-seriousness** to them (Clark & Gerrig, 1990), as they are not actually occurring in the here-and-now but are creatively and selectively “replaying” (Goffman, 1974) activities and actions that have either happened or are treated as if they could be/have been. In this respect, Goffman’s notion of “keying” (Goffman, 1974) becomes relevant, referring to the transformation of serious actions into “something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else” (p.45).

There are at least two kinds of consequences to non-seriousness. On the one hand, there is **reduced responsibility** (Goffman, 1974) **or accountability** for the actual content of the animation; which means that when speakers engage in framing practices they mean to “stand in a relation of reduced personal responsibility for what he is saying” (p.512). Along similar lines, Clark and Gerrig (1990) state that when quotes are presented, demonstrators/animations:

“take responsibility only for presenting the quoted matter-and then only for the aspects they choose to depict. The responsibility for the depicted aspects themselves belongs to the source speaker. So with quotations speakers can partly or wholly detach themselves from what they depict.” (p.792)

In this respect, Holt and Clift (2006) believe that this **detachment** from the form or content animated can be evidenced, for example, by the “licences” that speakers are found to take when animating, for instance, taboo utterances and “forbidden

expressions". This does not only apply to fictional or humorous kinds of animation of others and cases of ventriloquism, but also to animations of past events, and even of Past Self. In the latter case, where the reporter and the reported figures may be the "same physical person" (Golato, 2002), Goffman establishes that framing something as non-serious through quotation is a way to "loosen the bond" and "dissociate himself from the imperfections (and perfections) of his current role performance" (Goffman, 1974:541). Golato (2002) explains that in self-quoting speakers enact Self while distancing themselves from the figure at the same time, as an "actor in a scene". These observations on forms of disassociation from Self are very relevant to the analysis of co-animation, particularly when a speaker animates their own voice and a co-participant is seen to continue that animation in a way that is not sanctioned by first animators in spite of entitlement differentials (see Chapters 6 and 7).

So while the animator is, through the non-seriousness of replays and (re-)enactment, seen not to take responsibility in the here-and-now for the animated content, the animation in itself attributes agency and responsibility onto the animated figure (Johansen, 2011). An interesting question then for interaction is how hearers are seen to manage to distinguish between these different perspectives staged.

It should perhaps be noted that the ideas of responsibility and detachment are not simple, and that animators are still accountable for the deployment of their animation. The animation will have an effect in the here-and-now, which is why it becomes, in a way, an assessable with current relevance. The other issue with considering reduced responsibility is that it appears to mask the fact that animators overlay a stance over the animated content and they may be accountable for this form of representation or construction, which is a consequence as well of the lack of true authenticity. So perhaps it would be more precise to focus on the notion of "detachment" over reduced

responsibility, in the sense that animations act as objects introduced into the current interaction and are commented on and manipulated for interactional ends.

Therefore, the introduction of another voice invites a form of alignment with the (re-)enacted content; in other words, the here-and-now and the there-and-then establish some form of dialogue. This is a key issue in our understanding of animation and its deployment. This separation of the figure from the animator that has these consequences in the here-and-now is what is called footing, and will be explored in more detail next.

2.5.2 Animation, roles, and alignment: footing and participation frameworks

The prior sections discussed how animators can be heard as presenting other voices with different levels of incorporation and in a gradient from a more explicit to a more masked marking of their voice as animators. Whereas the division into modes of representation is more closely related to the idea of boundaries and “intrusion”, this section will focus on the consequences of introducing a voice in the here-and-now, particularly in terms how animators position themselves in connection to the content they are presenting. This will be done mostly by reviewing discourse-pragmatic studies on the one hand, and the sociological contributions of Goffman and the revisiting of Goffman’s model by Levinson (1988) and others . The next section will supplement this discussion by reviewing interactional studies where these forms of positioning are found to be consequential.

2.5.3 Animation and Polyphony

In keeping with our ongoing review of terms used to refer to what we are calling animation, we now move on to the use of the words “**polyphony**” and “**dialogism**”

(Bahtin, 1982; Ducrot, 1984; Voloshinov, 1971), studied initially in literary studies and then taken up by different schools of Discourse Analysis. These terms orient to the multiplicity of layered and simultaneous voices, which seems like an apt representation for the phenomenon we are concerned with that involves different interwoven interactional scenes. However, the Bahktinian take is that all speech is polyphonous, as all words have been spoken before and we are constantly evoking previous discourses: "any utterance contains the half-concealed or completely concealed words of others" (Bahktin, 1981:92). Bahktin's views of dialogism and double-voicing refer to this interplay of voices in stretches of discourse, what Nølke (2017) describes as "echoes, resonance or harmonies that point towards other discourses, and in the form of voices that introduce the other in oneself" (p.17). Other voices are evoked to create 'dialogical oppositions' (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992) or antagonisms, by which the animator's voice is also heard to be a co-author, in the sense that each word acts as an assimilation of the discourse/words of others and is assessed, emphasized, reflected upon, in the new act of enunciation. Thus, each act of enunciation is a recreation of, and a reply to previous discourses.

The French school of Enunciation Theory (the *théorie de l'énonciation*, Authier-Revuz, 2014; Ducrot, 1984; Maingueneau, 2017), takes up the Bahktinian notion of polyphony by first making a distinction between a) the utterance act (enonciation): "historical event that takes place at a certain moment and in a certain place" (Nolke 2017: 37), and b) the utterance (enonce), "the result or an image of the utterance act ... therefore a unit with relatively autonomous meaning and which is observable in time and space"(Nolke 2017: 37). Therefore, quotation is a form of insertion of one situation of enunciation into another and it is treated as a form of visible/marked heterogeneity in discourse (Authier-Revuz, 2014).

The polyphonic theory of enunciation put forward by this school establishes different figures that are simultaneously in opposition and interaction. Ducrot (1984) makes a distinction between the act of enunciation and the enunciated words and sees them as distinct layers of meaning and subjectivity –understood as the marking of the presence of the subject- in discourse. Enunciation is likened to a theatre scene where the locutor (the “sayer”) summons and stages in his/her discourse the voices of other, previous discourses, echoing previous enunciations of each word enunciated. The locutor, then, presents in his/her discourse different enunciators (or points of view), and through linguistic cues, shows either affiliation or distance towards the represented words. This presence of interacting voices in the enunciated utterances constitutes what Ducrot calls polyphony and this form of heterogeneity (Authier-Revuz, 1982, in García Negroni and Tordesillas Colado, 2001:163) is generally marked by linguistic devices such as negation, concession, irony, humour, and quotation, the polyphonic practice par excellence.

A social-semiotic approach to the study of language, Systemic Functional Linguistics (see, e.g. Halliday & Mathiessen, 1994), subscribes to this view of voices that are being “entertained” in discourse and with which the speaker is seen to be interacting and (dis)aligning, in different ways. Within what they call the model of “appraisal” (Martin & White, 2005) there is a sub-component they call, in line with Volosinov, “heteroglossia”, as part of the “engagement” system. Martin and White (2005:102) describe ways in which the authorial voice entertains a number of dialogical alternatives in the formulation of an utterance and text, in a way that either makes room for other positions (“dialogic expansion”) or opposes, restricts, or rejects other voices (“dialogic contraction”).

Even though the focus of many of the studies stemming from these theoretical models has been on more “monologic” kinds of texts, and mostly written corpora, their

contribution for our work lies in their acknowledgement of perspectives, or stance, being applied onto animation. That is, animation is an object, a set of views that are objectified for positioning and evaluation. These dialogical perspectives of split subjects and the staging of voices is not original to the French theory of Enunciation nor to Systemic Functional Linguistics, however, but can be traced back to not just Bahktin and Volosinov, but also Goffman (1981) and his model of footing, where our chosen name, "animation", comes from.

2.5.4 Animation and Footing

Goffman (1981) discusses issues around positioning through his notion of "footing", defined as a "participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self" (p128). This implies that changing footing involves a

"change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events."

(Goffman, 1981:128)

Goffman looks at the speaker in their possible holding of simultaneous roles: the "sounding box"/"talking machine"/"animator", that is, the one who "moves his lips up and down to the accompaniment of his own facial (and sometimes bodily) gesticulations, and words can be heard issuing from the locus of his mouth" (p 1981:144). This could be different, according to Goffman, from the "author", someone in charge of the "sentiments" and the words with which they are expressed (p1981:144), and from the "principal", someone "whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say" (p.146). Goffman explains that for this latter role

the identification is around a person in some role or identity, in the name of a “we” often over an “I”.

This tripartite division of the speaker is not necessarily straightforward, nor unobjectionable. Perhaps of the three roles the more problematic might be that of the “principal”. As our review of dialogism above shows, the animator overlays a stance to the animated content, and engages in some form of evaluation (see next section) of the content presented.

To further support these objections hereby presented, Buchstaller’s (2013) view becomes relevant, who considers that Goffman’s model cannot cope with this relationship between the reporting speaker and the reported propositions by which animators may be overlaying through prosody and/or gesture a stance around the figure animated or the message (p.49). In a way, quotation consists not only of changes of perspective but it also allows for the “infusion of one perspective into another” (Buchstaller, 2004:24).

As our analysis specified, the distinction between “author” and “animator” is also problematic since, even though authorship is attributed to the animated figure, the animator is also in a way, author, or at least, “editor”, of the production in the here-and-now.

Goffman’s model then seems to be inadequate to explain the complexities that a practice like animation brings about. This is the centre of some of the criticism in work by Goodwin (2007), Goodwin & Goodwin (2004), Levinson (1988), and Holt (2007), who focus on both Goffman’s notion of “footing” and of the “participation framework”, that engages the possible roles of recipients.

Levinson (1988) takes issue with Goffman's participation roles by emphasising that there are more distinctions than the ones he proposes and some of the categories are left unexplained. Levinson offers a revision of the whole production format and participation frameworks, by including primary and derived roles for the production roles that are defined according to features that should be assigned +/- values. These features are meant to represent key aspects of the production process, such as {transmission, message origin (motive, form), participant}, and key aspects of the reception role {address, recipient, participant, channel-linkage}. So the author may be {+participant, +transmission, +motive, +form}, whereas a relay is {+participant, +transmission, -motive, -form}. Levinson is very careful to stress that this description may not be all-encompassing, but it is enough to embrace many of the limitations in the original description by Goffman. A final point in Levinson's critique is that participant roles are "demonstrative social roles" (p.178) subject to congruent displays by their single or joint incumbents, and that they are jointly negotiated and not "unilaterally assigned" (p.176), which is central to what co-animation does.

Goodwin (2007) also addresses some of the limitations of Goffman's model, particularly around participation, though he acknowledges it is a "powerful model for systematically analysing the complex theatre of different kinds of entities that can co-exist within a single strip of reported speech" (p.20). What Goodwin criticises, and Holt (2007) later takes up, is Goffman's focus on a typology of participants instead of on a focus on participation during ongoing courses of action step by-step. The simultaneous actions of hearers are not considered by Goffman's model, making speakers and hearers to "inhabit separate worlds" (Goodwin 2007: p.29) when in fact they are jointly engaged in constituting the events they are in. Similarly, Holt (2006:49) dismisses the concern for typologies by arguing that "participants rarely overtly orient to issues to do with the production format (except by displaying that they understood a turn to be footed)."

Even though the objections to the footing model are acknowledged and sided with, calling our practice “animation” allows us to focus on its most globally defining characteristic which is, the ostensive introduction or interactional inhabitation of a voice that is disjunctive from the here-and-now and which opens new participation frameworks in an alternative interaction space. This overarching name does not distinguish between speech or thought, between presumably past or hypothetical, and includes verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Moreover, we will stress in our work the recognition that an animator is not just a “sounding box” but an active and selective transformer of a prior or imagined act of enunciation who overlays a stance in the here-and-now of the interaction while simultaneously introducing the voice of the figure. Animation is then a laminated experience subject to all kinds of layering effects (Goffman, 1981) that as the next section will demonstrate, are consequential for the ongoing social activities within which animation is deployed.

2.6 Animation and stance-taking in interaction: evidentiality, evaluation, and affiliation

Having described a number of defining features of animation that also inform our choice of name, and having reviewed a large number of core studies and authors, this section will focus on issues that were anticipated in prior sections and that are related consequences of the characteristics of animation as a practice in *situated interaction*. We have established that animation involves a split subject in the here-and-now, one that is involved in a simultaneous attribution of authorship and stance associated to either the animator or the figure. The animator is then seen to adopt a form of positioning and (dis)alignment towards the reported behaviour/event. These points, as clear from the review in the prior section, have mostly been studied for written or

more “monologic” speech genres, where these alignments and the boundaries between the voices may be more clearly established.

2.6.1 Animation as an evidential

This review anticipated earlier on that animation is a selective form or (re-)enactment that creates a sense of immediacy and invites the recipient to be a witness, and that authenticity and fidelity with regard to the original production cannot be guaranteed -and may not even be relevant for participants. Therefore, the deployment of animation in its perspectival and selective aspects then responds to the interactional contingencies and projects of the here-and-now (Sidnell, 2006). It is then not surprising that it is used as a resource in or surrounding assessment sequences, but also to do or make relevant co-participants’ assessments and evaluation. In this respect, the evidential and evaluating aspects of animation come in contact, as interactional studies have demonstrated.

Interactional studies of animation have focused on the evaluative and evidential features of reported speech and thought, in keeping with Sacks’s view that “the sheer fact of doing quoting can be the expressing of a position” (Sacks, 1992:309, cited in Clift 2007). Interactional studies have mostly described these uses in big packages, particularly storytelling and complaint stories, but they have also found these social actions to be relevant in more “fleeting” uses (Couper-Kuhlen, 2007) of animations within assessment sequences and accounts, or used to implement such actions.

In spite of its selective nature and lack of a verbatim rendering, reported speech has been found to make claims more robust and less open to charges that the speaker was mistaken (Wooffitt 1992, in Holt 1996) to add an “air of objectivity to the account” (Holt 1996:230). In an analysis of complaint stories, Drew (1998) shows how the

animation of the offending party, the transgressor, is presented as evidence but not with an explicit evaluation, allowing the recipient to “see for themselves”. This is known as “reportative evidentiality” (Spronck, 2012 as cited in Buchstaller 2013), a form of explication of the access to the source, and the marking of epistemic primacy. In this respect, Clift (2006) argues that reported speech can be used as an interactional “trump card” (p.579) to mean “I got there first”, claiming a form of epistemic (and chronological) priority in competitive assessment environments. By reporting a past event where the animator shows themselves to have already raised the current issue of discussion, the animator is seen to be “laying a claim to primary rights to do the assessing” (p. 579).

The evidential function does not only operate in the reporting of what has been seen and heard, but also in the animation of past thoughts of Other. The reporting of thoughts of another party, what Buchstaller (2013, based on Aitkenvald 2003:294) calls “inferred evidentiality”, is a delicate issue and is clear evidence of co-participants’ lack of concern for authenticity, as a quote on someone else’s thoughts “amounts to a conjecture of what other people might have been thinking, usually based on outward displays of their inner states” (p.37).

In their study of staff representations of the thoughts of patients with intellectual disabilities through a form of ventriloquism, Webb et al. (2018) identify how animation is used by staff to voice something problematic for which they would be held highly accountable for if done in their own voice. Webb et al. argue that reported speech somehow allows speakers to get away with making a point they wish to put forward through the reporting of a patient’s inner thoughts, using ventriloquism to manage possible epistemic entitlement issues. Thus, in first position, this form of ventriloquism is used to introduce a stance, whereas in second position, this is deployed to offer alternative interpretations and competitive assessments (Clift, 2007), in a way

warranted and safeguarded by doing so in reported speech. By “taking a stance on the patient’s inner world” (p.351), “speakers treat themselves as temporarily unbounded by the features that often mark stances on a subject that the speaker has no primary rights to assess”(p.354). This particular observation by Webb et al. is of great importance to our work on co-animation, though especially for the animation of thoughts of Self: later chapters will reveal how epistemic differentials are smoothed by co-participants through the use of the animation, and any issues around the co-animator’s lack of first-hand access on the animated events are not treated as problematic inasmuch the conditional relevance of affiliation is satisfied to degrees relative to the stances projected by first animators.

Reporting the thoughts of Self, then, is a far more frequent and possibly less delicate issue for first animators - though risky for co-animators. Self-animation can perform a number of interactional actions. Holt (1996) mentions that thought is reported “to portray a process of deliberation” (p.233). Similarly, Golato (2002) discusses how in troubles-tellings in German, past decisions by Self are reported in the present tense, prompting the co-participant to address their talk directly to the reported decision in order to assess it. These animations work as theatrical versions of events in that they provide evidence for the perceived (un)fairness of the reported troubles (Goffman, 1974).

The animated voice of Self can be made explicitly responsive to other animated voices in dialogue. Haakana (2007) discusses how in complaint stories, a teller first reports the voice of someone else, and then their own reported thoughts as a response to that first voice, creating a multi-layered picture “portraying what was said in the interaction and on the other hand, giving the current recipient access to what went on in the narrator’s mind at the specific point of the narrated interaction” (p.153). Chapter 6 will show how this is relevant to co-animation, in particular since it is the case in our

collection that co-participants orient to the animation of the voice of the victims/sufferers, rather than that of the transgressors.

2.6.2 Animation, evaluation, and accounting

Apart from evidential displays, animation has been found to carry out other kinds of action in interaction. Couper-Kuhlen (2007) studies fleeting uses of reporting Self for the substantiation and authentication of assessments and accounts. In assessments, she finds that the quotation does substantiation work through the addition of dramatic detail, while authenticating the assessment by providing historical evidence of an earlier congruent assessment of the same assessable. In accounts, there is a different kind of work associated to the deployment of animation: delicate work is done to justify potential disaffiliative past actions, and in so doing, "cast a more favourable light" (p.101) on the speaker's character. In this way, they provide access to thoughts that demonstrate a rational and conscious decision made in the past and explicate motivations without which the actions would have been seen as problematic, thus mitigating possible transgressions. Couper-Kuhlen highlights how the historical aspect of "importing thoughts" from a past situation enhances the authenticity of these reasons, that are presented as bearing "the weight of history" and of "habituality" (p.110).

All in all, the marking of evaluative and affective stance seems to be a feature of the deployment of animation per se. Participants may replay a prior interaction but "simultaneously convey his or her attitude towards the reported utterance" (Holt and Clift 2007:6-7). Buchstaller (2013:71) explains how quotation "creatively exploits" the often blurred boundaries between reporting and stance-marking, in order to portray a subjective viewpoint that might have held at a previous time, at the time of reporting, or both.

These evaluative and affective issues become public through animation, and some interactional studies have scrutinised the role of multimodal resources in these displays. Niemelä (2005, 2010, 2011) has widely studied the orchestration of embodied resources in reported speech as a resource for stance-taking and discusses how affective stances are collectively built through the reporting space (see section below). The contextualisation of affect is also key in the analyses put forward by Günthner (1997, 1999) in her study of stories and complaints in German: reported parties are presented directly as a means of contextualising complaints as (un)justified, and the stance of the “victim” is overlaid by the use of prosodic features, such as rhythmic scansion (Müller, 1991) and voice quality. The deployment of animation does a form of identity work by commenting on the (mis)behaviour of others: “by animating their characters as representatives of (negative) social types, narrators invite their recipients to disaffiliate from the staged figures and affiliate with the narrator’s own stances and positions” (Günthner, 2007:419). Günthner focuses on how animation can be a form of parodistic stylisation (Bahktin, 1981) to construct alterity and display disaffiliation with the animated figures, and also to build patterns of inclusion and exclusion (p.427). Our work will expand this connection between the interactional building of identities and the display of association through animation and co-animation.

2.7 Animation and co-animation

So far we have mostly focused on the figure of a first animator. Only really few studies have discussed the phenomenon that this thesis is concerned with, and which we have called *co-animation*, that is, responsive animations of the same figure. This final section in this chapter will review these prior studies.

Couper-Kuhlen's (1999) paper is one of the first traceable interactional studies to discuss the phenomenon of "chiming in" by which a co-participant contributes to the voicing of a particular figure. This co-animation is a way for the co-participant to not only display intersubjective understanding of the ongoing activity and of the presence of another voice, but "to actually become a part of it and comment on it" (Sams, 2010:3149). Sams (2010) suggests that 'chiming in' is about co-participants "providing suggested inner speech for the speaker telling a story" (p. 3151). Similarly, Holt (2000) identified a common phenomenon by which tellers "join in with the recipients by concurrently producing the 'same' kind of response at the 'same' time" (p.426), and are therefore seen to be "reacting independently but also harmoniously to the reported locution" (p.451). Holt (2007) finds that in amusing stories second reenactments by co-participants are frequent and act as forms of "going along" and creating further opportunities for laughter or appreciation. Holt specifies that this can be done as a practice like reported speech allows for reduced responsibility for transgressions, while also creating heightened intimacy (see chapter 7 for a review of animations in joint fictionalisations).

In a study of conversational storytelling, Guardiola & Bertrand (2013) describe a phenomenon they call Echo Reported Speech (ERS):

"The participant who is not telling the story is nonetheless able to animate the characters, while reversing the usual asymmetric roles of storyteller and listener. The use of this device is a way for the listener to display his/her stance toward the events told by the storyteller. If the listener's stance is congruent with that of the storyteller, this reveals a high degree of affiliation between the participants." (Guardiola & Bertrand, 2013:1)

Even though the notion of "echo" implies verbatimness, their study does not assume this, as they identify a number of forms that ERS takes relative to prior reported

speech, including reformulations, overbidding or enumerative constructions (i.e. collaborative lists). They also point out how because of the roles, and we will demonstrate in our work, because of epistemic differentials, the co-participants' contribution is fully constructed. Guardiola and Bertrand focus on the role reversal resulting from ERS, and how it is precisely through this that convergent sequences are achieved, as these ERS sequences reveal a co-participant fully grasping the story and making the most of the information provided, which we will later show is a result of the epistemic grounding built by first animations earlier on in the development of the activity.

One of the most relevant antecedents to our study is the work by Niemelä, who by studying storytelling data finds that "resonant" or "recipient-initiated voiced direct reported speech" (2005:213) is actually an ordered and routine activity in joint storytelling: "a sequence of multimodal enactments is an orderly phenomenon in interaction and a sequentially-relevant practice of stance taking" (p.3268). Niemelä/Siromaa (2005) finds that through the practice that we call co-animation in this work, "participants engage in the reciprocal activity of building a shared stance turn by turn" (p.216). In Niemelä (2010), the author establishes how this form of co-participation is facilitated through the reporting space, a "frame for potential active multimodal involvement in the stance-taking activity by all participants of the telling event" (p.3258), a place where co-participants orchestrate multiple semiotic channels to display their alignment with the animated voices or the story as a whole. The participants in the telling event then have a facilitated means and opportunity to take convergent or divergent stances within this reporting space by format-tying their multimodal resources. Our study shares some of the results reported by Niemelä but expands them further by engaging in detailed analyses of how this resonance is achieved in all multimodal levels, apart from delving into the relational consequences of co-animation in activities beyond storytelling and with clear epistemic differentials.

Also important for our understanding of the relational consequences of animation are the studies by Günthner (Günthner, 1997, 1999, 2005) of complaints and fictive interaction, in which she identifies several uses of 'chiming in' also as a form of alignment:

"This kind of chiming in and taking over the prosodic design of a quoted character functions as an indirect means to contextualise the co-participants' co-alignment with the reporter's evaluation." (1999:700)

Like Niemelä, Günthner focuses on the deployment of verbal and non-verbal resources, and sees the use of these reconstructions in their dramatic, "vivid" qualities as facilitative of chiming in. In the reporting of complaints, staging is seen to be persuasive (p.254) in that it "invite(s) co-indignation and moral rejection of antagonists' wrongdoing" (1997:252). In her study of German (Günthner, 2005), this is often achieved through forms of parodying and stylising social characters, which lead Günthner to stress the role of reported speech in the interactional performance of one's own identity through the representation of alterity:

"These constructions of otherness form the subtext for the reporter's self-positioning; i.e. the dissociation from the constructed other brings to bear upon the reporter's self-positioning and serves as means for her/his own identity work" (p.421).

In summary, prior interactional studies of co-animation mostly focus on its deployment in storytelling or complaint stories and in fictive interaction, and discuss how co-animation could be a form of displaying affiliation and alignment made possible by the theatricality of multimodal enactments of other voices, that creates vividness inviting "witnessing" and "empathetic insertion" (Goffman, 1974). Our work will expand on the findings in this section providing evidence of the organisational features of co-

animation and its multimodal design in a number of activities, focusing on how they facilitate association, or the creation of momentary collectivities.

2.8 Summary: key theoretical assumptions adopted in this work

This chapter has made an overview of a selection of relevant studies around the study of the practice of **animation**. We have defined this interactional practice as the opening of a new interactional space, anchored in a different time and place, real or imaginary, where different voices are introduced, and their actions are brought to the here and now through a number of verbal and non-verbal resources, (re)enacting words, movements, traits that are presented selectively and through a particular perspective. Co-participants in their responsive slots choose to continue the animation of the same figure, orienting to the features of the first animation, what we have called **co-animation**.

It has been also discussed how through the introduction of these voices in an activity, and particularly through the use of embodied features to frame this interaction as non-serious, animators bring to the here-and-now the reported events with a sense of immediacy and vividness that act as compelling evidence for co-participants to become witnesses and also present their positioning. Through this playful, selective, and creative framing, animations provide the possibility of introducing content displaying detachment and reduced responsibility, which in turn offers a licence to transgress, but also turns the animation into an object for manipulation. These features are key for our study on co-animations: we will argue that the opening of the animation space and all that it entails seems to supply co-participants with all the epistemic grounding and safeguards that facilitate the continuation of the ongoing or just finished animation for co-participants to display their affiliation and alignment.

Therefore, this space is permeable, with animators overlaying their affective and evaluative stance on the people or behaviour animated, and with co-participants offering endorsing or challenging responses in the form of co-animation.

Given that co-animation as such is an understudied phenomenon, the antecedents reviewed in this chapter have shown a few gaps that will be addressed in this research. In particular, our research will reveal:

- how the organisation of participation in co-animation works in dyadic interaction, given that the data in prior interactional studies (e.g. Niemelä, 2011) consist of interaction between at least three present people;
- how co-animation is sequenced and deployed in activities beyond storytelling, and in particular in data like ours, where any storytelling is emergent (cfr. the study by Guardiola and Bertrand, 2013, where stories were elicited);
- how non-verbal resources are deployed for the “hearability” of co-animations as continuation of the animation of the “same” voice just animated.
- what relational and interactional consequences can be found as a result of co-animation by participants who may not have first-hand access to the context the animated material is (re-)enacting, which with the exception of the study of Guardiola and Bertrand (2013), seems not to have been described in detail;
- how in spite of any differentials or delicate moral issues, co-animations are overwhelmingly found to be “interactionally successful” in that they are confirmed and celebrated by co-participants in the collection.

The following chapters will establish a conversation with the features and findings hereby reported and show how the deployment and design of (co)animation in our collection offers an answer (and new questions) to animation as a multimodal and associative phenomenon.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Having introduced the practice of co-animation and the main research questions, and reviewed some relevant literature, this chapter addresses the methodological considerations that have guided the work in this thesis. The data collection procedure is described, as well as the instrumental forms of validation of observation of phonetic and gestural detail, and the transcription conventions. The characteristics of the collection and its delimitation are discussed in detail, also outlining the kinds of phenomena left outside the scope of this work. First, however, this chapter delves into the main theoretical and methodological frameworks and tenets that inform the analysis of data in all its multimodal aspects, Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics.

3.2 Conversation Analysis, Interactional Linguistics, and Multimodality

Conversation Analysis (Sacks et al., 1974) is a perspective to the study of social interaction based on the study of naturally-occurring talk, which is understood as the locus of social action and order (Drew, 2004). It has its roots in sociology in the 1960s with the work of Harvey Sacks and the later association with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. The bases of CA take Goffman's concern with the "interactional order" and Garfinkel's attention to "member's methods" for the understanding of social action.

CA is concerned with the search for systematic, recurrent, stable patterns that reveal the underlying orderliness and structural organisation of talk (Sacks, 1984a) and thus, of social life. Through the detailed study of the unfolding and emergent position and composition of turns-at-talk, conversation analysts aim at describing the normative aspects that participants orient to and make everyday social actions possible. As Heritage (1984b) explains:

"At its most basic, the objective is to describe the procedures and expectations in terms of which speakers produce their own behaviour and interpret the behaviour of others." (Heritage, 1984b:241)

Interactional Linguistics (henceforth IL; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001) privileges the methodological insights and assumptions of CA but is a multi-perspective, multi-disciplinary (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017) approach to the study and description of language in its natural habitat of talk-in-interaction. IL analyses linguistic structures as a context-sensitive phenomenon, focusing on how language both shapes and is shaped by interaction (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001). IL aims at defining "the role of linguistic resources in (cueing or steering) participants' situated construction and interpretation of practices and actions in social interaction" (Kern & Selting, 2012:1). And in viewing linguistic units as the "result of an ongoing, real-time process of coordination and interaction between participants" (Kern & Selting, 2012:2), Interactional Linguistics is a form of reaction to three common biases in a lot of prior linguistic work: the "written language bias" (Linell, 2009), the study of artificial or decontextualised examples, and the view of language as a single speaker's phenomenon. The contributions of IL against these three biases becomes essential when it comes to a practice like co-animation, as the current work will demonstrate.

Both approaches to the study of language (and beyond, see discussion of non-verbal, vocal and non-vocal resources below) in social interaction are **empirical, mostly qualitative, micro-analytic, inductive, and data driven** (Clift, 2016; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017; Hoey & Kendrick, 2016).

Conversation analysts and interactional linguists are interested in describing the organization of turns and sequences, paying attention to the **unfolding and emergent position and composition of turns** with a focus on the features of talk that “are salient to participants’ analyses of one another’s turns at talk, in the progressive unfolding of interactions” (Drew, 2005:100). Conversation is seen as an emergent co-construction, a collaborative achievement that responds to the contingencies of every here-and-now of talk.

Validation mechanisms for the identification of these features then include the “next-turn-proof” procedure (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008), that is, the inspection of what next turns tell us about participants’ own understanding of the state of talk thus far and of the social actions implemented and made relevant by it, and of what the design of these responsive actions and the subsequent responses to them reveal about the conditional relevance (Schegloff, 2007) established by first turns. Therefore, participant orientation guides the interpretation process in both retrospective and prospective ways, and in it is to be found the evidence of the underlying orderliness:

“In so far as the materials we worked with exhibited orderliness, they did so not only to us, indeed not in the first place for us, but for the co-participants who had produced them” (Heritage, 1984b:243)

So CA-IL scholars study how turns are prospectively designed to be recognizable and hearable as doing certain actions that make relevant possible next actions, and how next actions retrospectively display a co-participant’s understanding of prior turns and

what is treated by both to normatively have been the next step in the overall course of action.

A greater part of the work done in CA/IL is of a **qualitative** nature, as the analysis starts from the single case as the first locus of a putative phenomenon that may then be found across the collection or that may “transform the researcher’s understanding of what the phenomenon is, rather than simply being included in, or excluded from, class-membership status” (Schegloff, 2009:391) . The analysis of a practice, then, should be able to explain the single case as well as the aggregate, and it incorporates as an important element in the validation of claims the close observation of deviant cases to check for the generality of the features discussed (Edwards, 2006). Schegloff (2009) explains what a possible interaction between CA’s qualitative starting point and the engagement with quantitative techniques would be in this way:

“At least for the sort of data CA tries to come to terms with, one does not go to work on a corpus of data to conduct quantitative or statistical analysis and arrive at findings; rather, one works up the data case by case, instance by instance, the results of these analyses serving to compose a corpus which may then be subjected to quantitative analysis to underwrite its robustness.” (Schegloff, 2009:389)

Similarly, Walker (2004) clearly states why this first engagement with the single case makes sense for the analysis of talk-in-interaction, highlighting how no quantitative measure can really change the reality that “an episode of talk-in-interaction occurred in that way on that occasion for those speakers” (Walker, 2004:29).

Having discussed some of the principles around the empirical, qualitative, and inductive characteristics of CA-IL research, let us focus on its micro-analytic aspect. It is claimed that in interaction, “no order of detail can be dismissed, a priori, as disorderly, accidental, or irrelevant” (Heritage 1984b p.241), and that it is the

recurrence of distinctive details within specific locations in the turn or sequence that may make practices recognisable as such (Sidnell, 2012b). The interactional study of practices in interaction of the last four decades has demonstrated high degrees of organisation at all levels, going from practices so minimal such as inbreaths and clicks (Ogden, 2013) as forms of incipient speakership marking within a turn, to particles such as “oh” (John Heritage, 1984a) to index a “change of state”, to practices like repetition (Curl, 2005) to mark errors of acceptability, or formulations (Heritage & Watson, 1979) to summarise the state of talk thus far, to the study of embodied form of responses in big packages, such as nodding (Stivers, 2008).

Then it is not just verbally and audibly linguistic but also visible and hearable non-verbal behaviour (non-vocal: gestures, and vocal: intonation, voice quality; for a critical review of these terms, see: Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017; Laver, 1994; Streeck, 1993), as well as material resources that matter for co-participants for the design and interpretation of actions, as was determined really early in CA history by scholars like Goodwin (1979) in his description of gaze in the interactive construction of a turn, or Streeck, (1993) in his study of gaze and hand gestures. The relevance of multimodal and material resources has been underscored by Heath and Hindmarsh (2002) :

“In face to face interaction therefore, bodily conduct and the material environment plays a critical part in the production and intelligibility of social action. The immediate ecology of objects and artefacts provides resources for the production of action, and in the ways in which participants themselves recognize and make sense of each others’ conduct.” (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002:104)

Social action is embodied action, and as such, it is a multimodal phenomenon:

“Multimodality includes all relevant resources that are mobilized by participants to build and interpret the public intelligibility and accountability of their situated action:

grammar, lexicon, prosody, gesture, gaze, body postures, movements, manipulations of artifacts, etc.” (Mondada, 2018:86)

The interaction of all these vocal and non-vocal mobilised resources, however, is not straightforward, as they present different levels of integration and temporal alignments that “go beyond the relative linearity of talk” (Mondada, 2019:49). Many (mostly non-CA/IL) studies have focused on the timing of speech events and gestures in the study of co-speech gestures (Kendon, 1980; McNeill, 1992), such as in the alignment of beat gestures and rhythmic peaks (Leonard & Cummins, 2011; Loehr, 2007; Loehr, 2012). Other interactionally-informed studies focus on the observation of the precedence and foreshadowing of some gestures to their lexical affiliates (Schegloff, 1985; Streeck, 1995, 2009). The relation between these resources and the precedence/priority of some resources over others cannot be established a priori, in line with Kendon’s (1980) view of the complementarity of gesture and speech, and McNeill’s (1992) claim of a “pragmatic synchrony” of modalities produced together. Wagner, Malisz, & Kopp (2014) highlight the role of multimodality in creating “semiotic versatility” by exploiting different resources that can either complement each other, or create semiotic redundancies:

“the interplay between gesture and speech is highly adaptive to various situations. We often use the information in one modality to disambiguate, enhance, or highlight the information in another modality.” (Wagner, Malisz, & Kopp, 2014:209)

In this respect, Mondada (2019) also stresses that “there is no principled hierarchy of resources that would pre-exist to social interaction....all resources are potentially equally relevant for the organisation of action” (p. 50). In this respect, a practice like co-animation where participants are seen to be concurrently managing the voices and stances of absent parties while simultaneously projecting a stance and conditional relevance, and also as a practice where co-participants are seen to be actively picking

design features of prior terms and re-doing or completing them, reveals how no resource can be treated as irrelevant or ornamental.

Social actions, then, are implemented by complexes of position and verbal and non-verbal resources and materialities and their interaction, which are known as constructions (Ogden, 2010) or complex multimodal gestalts (Mondada, 2014b). These semiotic resources act in conjunction, allowing interactants "to produce multi-layered utterances which may index many kinds of meaning simultaneously" (Sikveland & Ogden, 2012:167) . As Mondada, (2018) puts it, talk is made of up of "multiple temporalities articulated in sequentially ordered simultaneities" (p.94) that reveals how different yet simultaneous orders of activity may be unfolding and are all being attended to by co-participants.

The concern for CA, then, is to define how these multimodal constructions or gestalts contribute to the organisation of social interaction beyond the single speaker (Mondada, 2018), and how they interact with other positional and compositional resources. Conceiving of all resources as jointly shaped is relevant in that other bodies in interaction may also be part of these jointly created gestalts and may be material objects for others, what Fuchs (2016; also Fuchs & De Jaegher, 2009) discusses in their understanding of how intersubjectivity relies heavily on embodiment, understood as dynamic and embedded whole-body actions of bodies that engage in mutual incorporation, in-keeping with Merleau-Ponty's theory of intercorporeality (as explained in Fuchs, 2016).

3.3 The Data

3.3.1 Description of the corpus

The data for the thesis are two sets of video-recorded naturalistic speech corpora (see Appendix I for a description) adding up to 10 hours 15 minutes. Mondada (2013) defines “naturalistic” in-keeping with Lynch (2002)’s concept of “naturally organised” activity, as “an ordering of activity that is spontaneous, local, autochthonous, temporal, embodied, endogenously produced and performed as a matter of course” (Mondada, 2013:34), and this refers to the nature of activities prior to being collected as data. The first set of recordings, the Marina Cantarutti York (MCY) corpus was collected by the researcher. It consists of 20 video recordings, supplemented by two sets of audio recordings, one collected with individual lapel microphones to ensure access to each speaker’s channel, and a separate backup voice recorder. Only three of the recordings selected feature three participants, all the others featuring dyadic interaction. The second set of interactions was collected from a selection of five conversations from Rossi Corpus of English (RCE) and is, with the exception of two recordings, made of interaction between pairs of speakers.

3.3.2 Ethics, equipment, and collection procedure

The table below summarises the equipment used for data collection:

	MCY Corpus	RCE Corpus
Video	Recordings 1-15: HD Sanyo Xacti VPC-HD2 (1080p, .mp4) Recordings 16-20: Zoom Q4n Handy Video recorder with in-built directional mic (.mov, .wav)	1 HD wide lens camera (1080p, .mp4) (no further information available)
Audio	Recordings 1-15: 2 lapel mics connected to a ZoomH4n handy recorder (not available in conversations 5, 8, 11) (.wav)	2 omnidirectional microphones (.wav) (no further information available)

	<p>A two-channel Sony ICDPX312 voice recorder (.mp3)</p> <p>Recordings 16-20: 2 TASCAM DL-10L lapel mics (.wav)</p> <p>Sampling rate and PCM: 44.100 Hz - 16-bit</p>	
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Table 3.1 Equipment employed in the collection of the corpora for this thesis

In both sets, the data collection was carried out via **direct recruitment**. The MCY corpus was collected during June-November 2017, and in February 2018. The procedure for this corpus got due approval by the LLS Ethics Committee on June 15th, 2017, and it constitutes a replication of the recruitment method employed for the first set of data, collected by Dr. Giovanni Rossi for the Max Planck Institute at York in 2011. Participants who were seen to be interacting in public spaces on campus were approached by the researcher, and invited to participate, being asked to continue what they were doing but with the presence of recording equipment. Those willing to be recorded completed a consent form on site (see Appendix IV), and were given the opportunity to ask questions about the study before the recording started. The researcher set the equipment and left the area but remained visible for participants to wave to when they wished to bring their recorded interaction to an end.

In order to ensure the greatest possible form of ecological validity, the lapel microphones were put in place by the participants themselves under the supervision of the researcher, and they were encouraged to remain in the location and orientation they were adopting prior to being approached by the researcher. The camera was generally set at gaze height, facing the participants in the setting they themselves were in prior to the researcher's interruption, but this was not always feasible, and in cases where the equipment would require participants to change position, it was the setting of the equipment location that was privileged instead. This accounts for the variety of

angles and field sizes (Mondada, 2013) in the different recordings, a few examples of which can be seen in figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1 Variety in angles and field sizes of different recordings

Moreover, during the period of completion of the consent forms and the setting of the equipment, the researcher ensured that no previous agreement on topics of discussion was made. Therefore, the starting moments of each interaction mostly feature comments on the fact that their interaction is being recorded, jokes about the clothes being worn or their having to eat in front of the camera, and there is in most cases a participant reminding another of where they had left off and leading towards topic resumption or recycling. Further evidence of the emergent nature of the participants' talk lies in their orientation to what is going on around them: comments on weather, the food being eaten, geese approaching, or cars or familiar people passing by, among others.

3.3.3 Some limitations of the corpora

It is acknowledged that the unexpected interruption of these participants' talk prior to recording, and the presence of recording equipment triggers the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972), and orientation to their being recorded is made by participants in different moments. However, as Mondada (2013) remarks, the presence of the camera need not be omni-relevant for participants, and those moments in which explicit

orientation to the recording is being made can be as rich analytically and as revealing of social normativity as those in which such orientation is absent.

It is also recognised that this camera orientation and the lack of 360-degree visual information makes, as for most forms of video data collection, for a partial and selective view of what is going on and of what participants have access to multi-sensorially. The “mid-shot” (Luff & Heath, 2012) chosen, however, “seems to allow for the analysis of how social activities emerge and are produced through interactions between participants and the manipulation of objects and artefacts, tools and technologies within the local environment”(p.264) and allows for gestures done in the central and peripheral areas to be captured.

Nevertheless, these are common features also found in the data used for analysis in widely published CA/IL studies, and they constitute in any case useful instances of visible behaviour that is legitimately analysable. Moreover, it is recognised that the willingness of participants to be recorded, the lack of prior notice and agreement of topics, the invitation to talk for as long or little as they wished, and the fact that they were encouraged to continue the activities they were sharing prior to interruption, makes for data that can be considered to be naturally-occurring to a high degree, with all the limitations and inhibitions that can be expected from the visible presence of a recording equipment, and the visible curiosity of passers-by, added to participants’ “face-sensitivity” .

In terms of technical limitations of the current corpus, 4 of the recordings in MCY and the whole of the RCE collection do not have single-speaker channel recordings. Also because the recordings were made outdoors, the presence of background noise (particularly wind and water, but passing vehicles as well) counts as an interference for the analysis of prosodic information. Whenever this is the case and a particular

phonetic observation needs to be validated, the impressionistic details have been compared to the articulatory gestures on video, and an explicit note about the possible unreliability of the observation has been made.

3.4 Data processing

3.4.1 Anonymisation

For ethical purposes, the data have been manipulated in the following ways: first, all identifying information has been anonymised, meaning that the names of all participants and mentions of third parties and any identifying places were changed for pseudonyms with the same number of syllables and stress pattern, and whenever possible, similar sonority. Likewise, anonymising filters and white noise were applied on the audio files and video where appropriate using Audacity, and VSCD or Shotcut software.

3.4.2 Editing of audio data

One of the lapel mics malfunctioned during recordings 2, 5 and 6, creating an internal vibration of the device that displayed perturbations visible near the zero crossing of the waveform, as well as a low volume. To mitigate the effect of this, a Stop Hann Band filter in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2016) has been used (see figure 3.2 below). Measurements were taken and registered before and after the application of the filter, to keep track of the effect that filtering may have had. These measurements were also checked against those done through the backup voice recorder. The image below shows the improvement of the recognition of voiced pulses before and after the application of the filter.

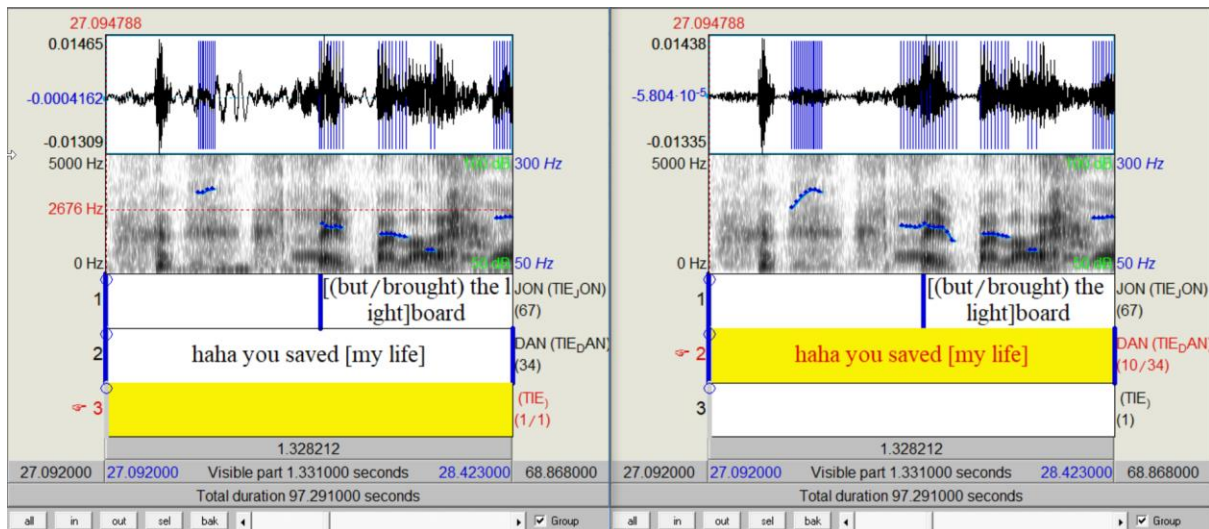


Figure 3.2 Voicing detection and perturbation levels around the zero crossing before (left) and after (right) the application of a filter

This procedure as well as noise removal filters from the open source software Audacity have been applied to the original audio files to ensure the cleanest quality of sound where needed, particularly in recordings 2, 6, 9, and 10 with the sound of the fountain opposite, and for 11 with the rumbling sound of a vending machine. The raw version of the files was always used for verification measurements.

3.5 Delimitation of the collection

The focus of this collection is the practice of responsive (co-)animation, which in fact emerged as a practice within a larger collection of co-productions (mostly choral productions and anticipatory completions) found as a result of corpus exploration. Once the practice of co-participants continuing or completing an animation was singled out from this initial collection, the corpus was further explored for **sequences made up of a first animation, followed by a responsive animation that continued the animation of the same voice, resulting in co-participants jointly “doing being Self/Another.**

However, defining what constitutes animation is not a simple issue, especially if an interactional grounding is to be made. Based on the work cited in the prior chapter, animations were identified as featuring any of these characteristics, clustering different design features that mark a form of disjunction with the ongoing talk in the here-and-now:

- a) Presence of a quotative preface (not essential);
- b) Change in participation frameworks, traceable by use of first or second person pronouns, singular or plural, not oriented to by co-participants as being addressed to the interlocutor, nor presented as if referring to the speaker in the here-and-now; alternatively, if it is a directive, not oriented to as addressed at the co-present participant;

In combination with one or more of these, where applicable:

- c) Noticeable changes in lexico-grammatical style from immediately surrounding TCUs;
- d) Noticeable changes from modal voice into other qualities;
- e) Noticeable changes in pitch range or register or volume from immediately prior TCUs;
- f) Noticeable shifts in gaze direction, posture, or gesture from immediately prior TCUs.

Once these sequences of first animation + responsive animation were collected, for comparative purposes, other forms of responsive animation were sought after. A group of responsive animations emerged that consisted in second-position animations not preceded by prior animations, which were seen to be enacting aspects of the content of the first-pair part were included (called “adjunct” animations). Finally, for further comparison, animations in responsive positions that take up prior animations but are not adjacent to first animations were also collected (“recycled co-

animations”) Finally, a small sample of non-animated responsive turns to first animations in the same activities identified for co-animation was collected.

Responsive animations were found with the following sequential configurations:

- a) *Contiguous Responsive Co-animation*: B responds with an animation at pre- or post-possible completions (focus of this study)

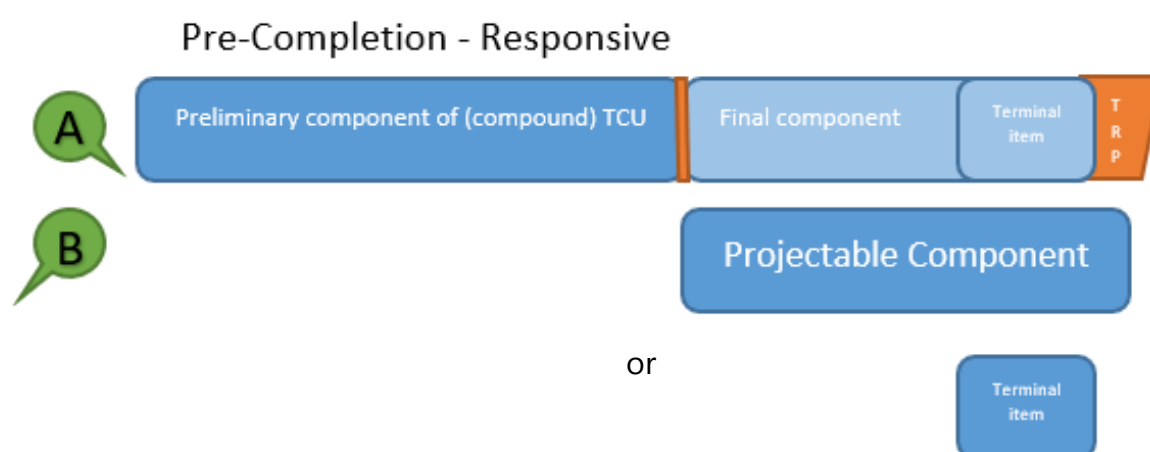


Figure 3.3 Sequential configuration of Pre-possible Completion Co-animations

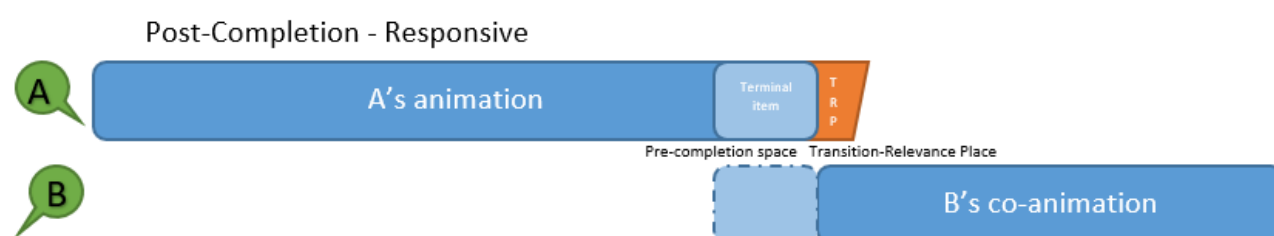


Figure 3.4 Sequential configuration of Post-possible Completion Co-animations

- b) *Responsive Recycled Co-animation*: B recycles an animation by A later in the next turn or sequence.

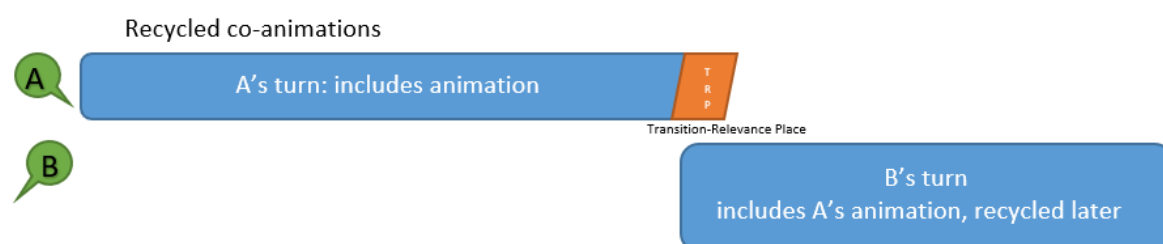


Figure 3.5 Sequential configuration of Recycled Co-animations

- c) *Responsive Adjunct Animation*: B responds to a non-animated turn by A through an animation of the behaviour or agent in A's turn. This configuration mostly results in a sequence of extended co-animation.

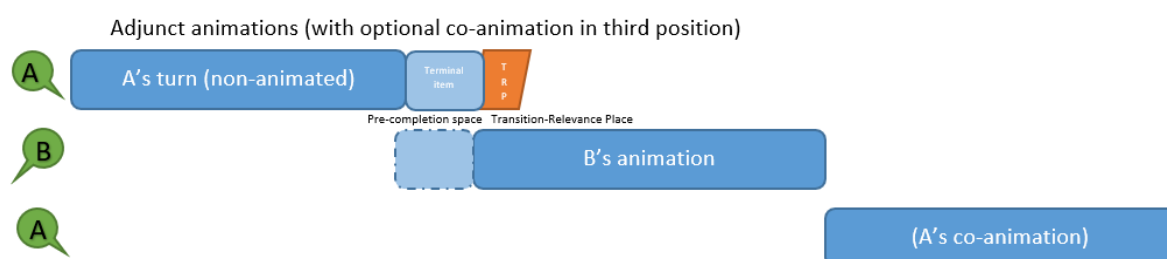


Figure 3.6 Sequential configuration of Responsive Adjunct Animations

The collection featured 89 cases of responsive animations, 5 of which are non-contiguous animations ("recycled"), and 8 of which do not show first animations ("adjunct" animations) and do not become co-animations, and were thus kept for future studies. 76 cases are thus considered for this study, and they all feature a first animation followed by a responsive animation. Therefore, in order to be included in the collection, the following final criteria were applied: the sequence should involve animation in the following conditions:

1. it should involve a **first animation by A** in **first position** or at the end or juncture point of a big package
2. it should display a B-animation in the **responsive** slot

3. it should present a joint animation of the same figure animated by A in first position.

Once included in the collection and transcribed, each of the cases was analysed in terms of the overall sequential and topical activity in progress (Robinson, 2012), and then studied within their micro-sequential position to identify the social actions made relevant and effected by the animations, involving also different types of stance displays (epistemic, agentive, deontic, evaluative, affective; Thompson, Fox, & Couper-Kuhlen, 2015). Each animation was examined for its lexico-grammatical, prosodic, and bodily design in the ways described below, and the design of each responsive animation was particularly scrutinised in terms of defining how the hearability of resonance or similarity is achieved.

3.6 Transcription

Together with recording, transcription is another CA-IL tool for representing, registering and analysing data. As Jenks (2011) points out, transcriptions suffer from a temporal and contextual displacement from the original situation, and are selective and partial, as recordings are also in terms of their capturing. They turn spoken language into written language and impose a spatial organisation of temporal aspects, taking a sort of stable snapshot of processes that would otherwise be dynamic (Mondada, 2018). However, as a system of representation, transcriptions make the observations of the data “portable, editable, shareable, and conventional” (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017:4) and make visible aspects that may not at first sight or hearing be recognisable in the video data. In the service of making CA a replicable science, transcription enables the creation of “immutable mobiles” (Mondada, 2018) that provide evidence for observations and allow other scholars to see for themselves.

Part of the selectivity and bias of representation lies in the choice of transcription system. The most widely used system of transcription in CA is the Jeffersonian system (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017; Jefferson et al, 2004). In spite of its wide adoption and the possibilities it offers for representing a great amount of detail in talk, there are a number of limitations around the representation of phonetic detail and inconsistencies around the use of punctuation marks and arrows, as well as lack of clarity as to the proposed domains of certain parameters, such as for example pitch contours (see Walker, 2004, for a full account).

3.6.1 GAT2, adapted

Therefore, the transcripts included in the following analyses have been carried out using an adapted form of the **GAT2 system** (Selting, Auer, et al, 2011; see Appendix II for a copy of the conventions), the preferred system in Interactional Linguistic work, as it enables a more “precise representation of prosodic and phonetic parameters” (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017) and a wider array of phenomena than the Jeffersonian system allows, and it avoids a kind of pre-judgement of the relevance of some phonetic details over others (Walker, 2004). The GAT2 system invites expandability following a “multi-layer” principle (Selting et al., 2011) in that it allows different levels of granularity in the representation (Minimal, Basic, and Fine). In this work, portions of analytic interest have been transcribed using the Fine level in the set of conventions, whereas other sections present a Minimal or Basic level transcript.

In the service of readability and space management, and in response to some representational limitations, the following conventions have been adapted or added to the original GAT2 system:

Original GAT symbol/convention	Adaptation in the current work
use of CAPITALS for accented syllables	no use of capitals for the Basic version to enhance readability. The presence of a tone mark indexes the syllable as accented. It is acknowledged that this is not always the case for secondary accents.
<<creaky> speech speech>	<<cr>>
<<whispery> speech speech>	<<wh>>
<<breathy> speech speech>	< >
Non-specified: stylised, modalised	<<sty, mod>>
Non-specified: IPA transcriptions	((IPA transcription here))
Non-specified: VQ parameters, eg: "raised larynx"	E.g. <<raised larynx>>
Non-specified: laughter particles within the word (closest equivalent <<:-)> xxxx> smiley voice)	Added within the words in their perceived location, following the Jeffersonian style (h°)
Glottal stop (ʔ) used to mark glottally closed pauses	Glottal stop marked in other relevant places, e.g. laughter particles

Table 3.2 Adaptations to GAT2 applied in this work

Another important convention that has been adapted for our purposes and towards readability is the use of a space to denote contractions where these could be ambiguous (well-we'll, we're-were). To avoid problems between the ambiguity of e.g. "well" and "we'll", we would be using "we ll" to represent the second. Because of the similarity and the size of superscript tone marks, using the apostrophe would create misleading readings of the transcript, and an attempt was made to avoid this.

The impressionistic transcription of pronunciations that become interactionally relevant as in the cases of trouble sources on which repair has been initiated, or which become topicalised as issues for discussion is done through the **International Phonetic Alphabet** (IPA chart, International Phonetic Association; see Appendix III for a copy).

Given that it is recognised that the temporality and shifts of these prosodic features throughout speech cannot be sufficiently represented through transcription, Praat figures with waveforms, spectrograms, fundamental frequency (f0) traces, and loudness traces are also provided alongside transcripts to illustrate the relevant phenomena where necessary (see section 3.7.2 for an example).

3.6.2 Multimodal Transcription (MMT)

The transcription of other forms of bodily behaviour such as gaze, hand gestures, posture, and facial expression presents another set of challenges, particularly due to their often simultaneous but not often matching temporalities. As mentioned earlier, there is no assumed hierarchy or relevance of any embodied feature until the analysis of participant orientation has been completed. As a result, only a number of gestural activities will be included in the transcription, those found to be interactionally relevant, with the expectation that the reason behind the omission of the other simultaneous actions that do not seem to be interactionally foregrounded is clear through the analysis. The system adopted is an adapted form of the conventions collected by Mondada (2014a, 2018, which we will call Mondada Multimodal Transcription, MMT), that enables a characterisation of the temporal trajectory of a gesture with its phases (using a stop for preparation, a dash for the stroke and hold, a comma for the retraction; see section 3.7.3 below for a description of stages, and Appendix II for a copy of the conventions) as it aligns with verbal material, as well as

offering the opportunity to briefly describe the embodied action and to represent concurrent actions by the same or different speakers in a parametric way.

To enhance readability and space management, the following short references will be made to the bodily articulators and their directionality as an addition to the Mondada system:

Right	R
Left	L
Hand	H
Index, Thumb fingers	IF, TF
Arm	A
towards	tw
Moves away from	af
Looks at X	@

Table 3.3 Abbreviations used in multimodal transcriptions

The transcription below exemplifies some of these abbreviations:

Example 3.1 Sample multimodal transcription (MCY20MUG "Scoon")

```

15 EVI *Is it *`SC*ONE* ((skɒn))          = *or      ↑`SCONE* ((skəʊn)).
    evi  *RH point-,,,,,*                      *raises RH>
          *turns and looks R                    *turns L.-----*turns R>
16      *`NO.      * (.) [<<f>*`S::COON ((skʊ:n)) >] *ʔh°aha
    evi >*-RH point,,,,,,,,,*
          >*turnsR *leans forward-----*
17 SAM [<<f>+`S::COON ((skʊ:n)) >]+
    Sam      +raises folded RT-----+

```

Because the description of a movement may not always suffice for clarity and verification by the reader, the transcription of multimodal aspects, in particular, postural, gestural and gaze detail relevant to the analyses has also been included alongside the frame-by-frame strips presented as images. Whereas some transcripts offer the stills of some points in time (marked with #fig), others offer sequences of the whole trajectory of movement with arrows indicating direction or stepwise movements (with dotted-line arrows). On those occasions where the multimodal constructions have finely-tuned levels of temporality of a number of resources, visualisations like the one below in the shape of “partitures” have been included to allow for a better temporal representation of the unfolding of the simultaneously-deployed resources. The text is presented horizontally below the string of stills, and relevant gestural information is signalled and aligned with the text through numbers.

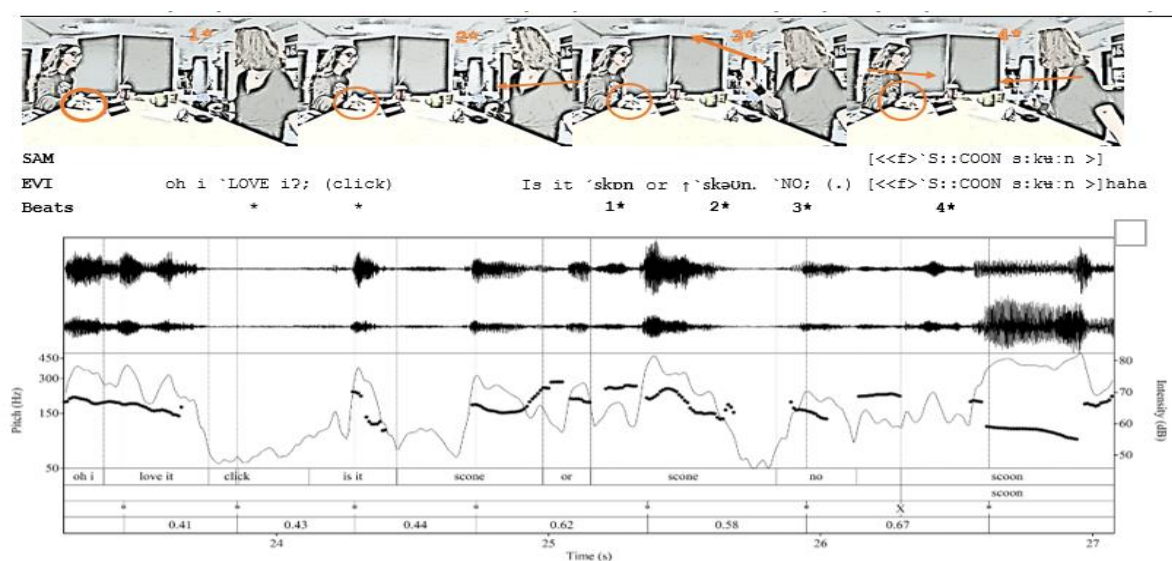


Figure 3.7 Sample partiture featuring visual evidence of beat gestures and their alignment with rhythmic beats, f0 trace, verbal material

Regarding the representation of the specific practice of animation, an important point needs to be made. Prior attempts to represent the domains of reported speech, such as the Discourse Transcription system by Du Bois (1991) indicate animation through

the addition of <Q Q> at the beginning of the reported content. Likewise, Niemelä, (2011) in her study of reported speech in storytelling uses the symbol @ to indicate voicing. Because a claim in this work is that the animation is overlaid with a stance of the animator in the here-and-now (made very clear, for example, when there are laughter particles during the animation of the voice of others whose speech is being mocked) which problematises the boundaries of quoted speech, and based on the findings around the multiple temporalities and disalignments between the quote and the spoken and bodily behaviour around the quote and the “unquote”, quoted areas of interest will be highlighted in **bold** to direct the reader’s attention to the verbal material of the animation.

The transcription below exemplifies some of the points made earlier around the interplay of the animation with the here-and-now:

Example 3.2 MCY04SANDWICH "I'm Desperate" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
34 JES ˘hopefully,> (0.6)
35      ˘a:nd (.) now that we actually ˘know some people? hh° (0.4)
36 FIO ˘ye:ah.
37 JES as o˘pposed to:; (.)
38 ˘ple::ase = c(h°)ome on my ˘sh(h°)ow °hh ha
39 FIO ʔah° ʔah° hahaha
```

As a final point, it is relevant to point out that every effort has been made to ensure that transcripts support the analytic claims and that they represent the words uttered, though there are still areas where in spite of joint discussion with other academics, the exact words seem irretrievable. For validation purposes, a large number of transcriptions in the collection (45%) were presented during data sessions and conference/workshop presentations, together with two special sessions of transcription validation carried out remotely in collaboration with experienced CA

academics and non-CA native speakers of English. PhD supervisors provided a final check of the examples picked for presentation.

3.7 Annotation and analysis of data

3.7.1 Workflow: from transcription to analysis

Transcriptions were done using FOLKER (Schmidt & Schütte, 2010), and exported into Praat v.6.1.10 (Boersma & Weenink, 2016) for comparative listenings and more precision in the marking of silences and overlap onsets and offsets. Transcriptions were later fine-tuned when exported onto ELAN v.5.9 (Brugman, Russel, & Nijmegen, 2004), where the extraction of relevant visual information that may inform omissions or mishearings was made.

The information in the acoustic and auditory domains was analysed initially separately from the information in the visual domain, to allow for independent verification of the detail in different channels. This became particularly relevant for the analysis of rhythm and co-speech gestures. Prosodic information (see dedicated section 3.7.2 below) was annotated in Praat textgrids at word or segment level where relevant. Gestural phases and postural and gaze shifts (see section 3.7.3 below) were annotated in ELAN tiers (see Figure 3.8 below for an example) as the muted video was played repeatedly, to avoid any influence of auditory information. Praat textgrids were then exported onto ELAN, where especially information around the temporality of rhythmic beats and the alignment of gestural phases on syllables or words was compared based on the annotations done through focusing on separate mediums.

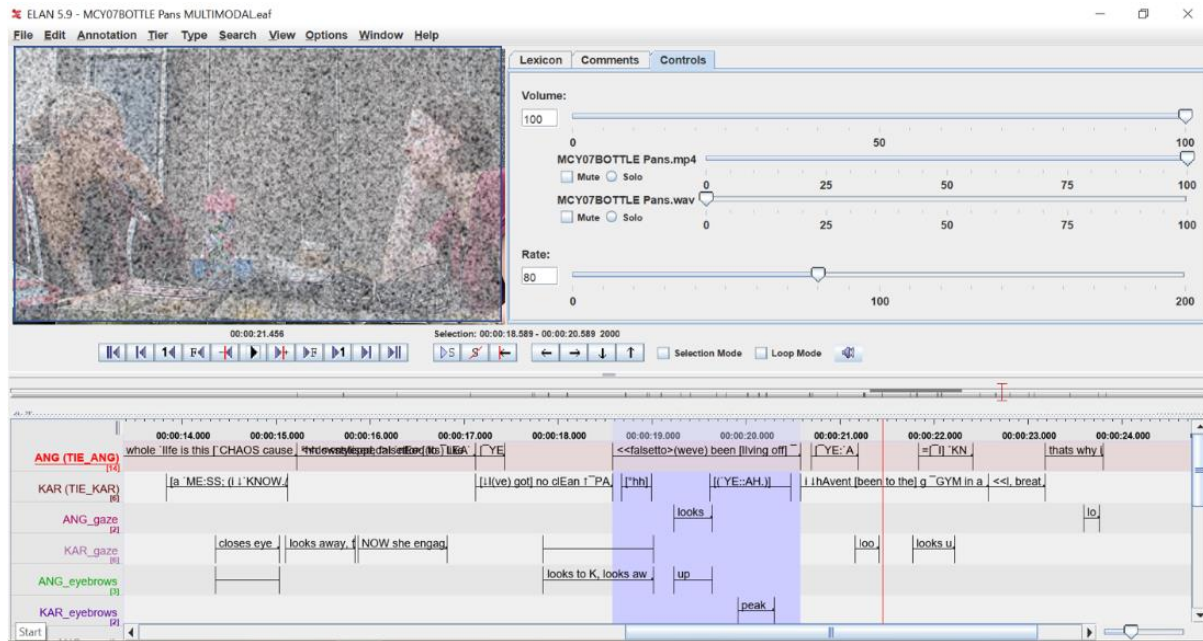


Figure 3.8 ELAN tiers with time-aligned gesture annotations

3.7.2 Observation, transcription and validation of phonetic detail

3.7.2.1 Some principles for the study of phonetics in interaction

The study of phonetic detail is context-sensitive, as participants' choices are emergent and contingent on the moment-to-moment needs of talk (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996). Therefore, as Local & Walker (2005) emphatically remark, as analysts we cannot know in advance what phonetic resources will be of interactional import, so in the conversation analytic spirit of not discarding, a priori, any detail of conversation as "disorderly, accidental or irrelevant" (Heritage, 1984b:241), we must "attend to and reflect everything that we can discriminate" (Local & Kelly, 1989:26), not assigning any primacy to any parameter in particular (Walker, 2004:30).

So in this respect, the selected phonetic parameters in each of the individual analyses are the result of the analysis process and of visible participant orientation processes to prior prosodic design by their co-participants by engaging in processes such as

matching/re-cycling, incorporation/continuation, entrainment or upgrading (Auer, 1996; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Ogden, 2006; Ogden & Hawkins, 2015; Szczepek Reed, 2006). This is often done through phonetic bundles of features that are concurrently “implicated in the embodiment of social action” (Ogden, 2012:5). As mentioned earlier, this implies that phonetic events do not work in isolation, as they are deployed together with other verbal and non-verbal resources to manage different aspects of interaction, such as turn-taking, sequence organisation and social action.

What is more, as Walker and Local (2005) explain, the analysis of phonetic and interactional concerns should be carried out in tandem, and not serially. It is only through this parallel approach to analysis that the actual interactional import of some phonetic features may be established, and this relevance be warranted. Selting (2010) specifies two goals in the description of phonetic-prosodic features: the deconstruction of holistically interpreted units to isolate the formal resources used; and the reconstruction of the way phonetic cues work with other structures in their sequential context, in order to describe the mechanisms by which utterances are made interpretable by participants, how the hearability of something as “doing X” is established, a key issue for establishing the coherence of co-animation to prior animations in our collection.

However, the observation and analysis of phonetic detail carries with it a number of difficulties. Because of the complexity of what is involved in speech production and the speech signal itself, Local and Kelly (1986) claim that observational techniques should gather as much information as possible on “the complex and coordinated set of organic movements (..) and the set of auditory experiences that relate to these” (p28). The form of observation will be “parametric” (Abercrombie, 1965), analysing components of the speech signal and their trajectories independently to “untease the various strands of the auditory sensation into component factors” (Local & Kelly,

1989:30). The authors propose following a **parametric-impressionistic listening** approach that looks at speech as having “independently varying auditory and movement parameters” (ibid, p.30). Walker (2012) adds that these auditory analyses may be **supplemented by acoustic (i.e. machine generated) instrumental analysis** that can further validate impressionistic observations. For instrumental validation, the 2-channel recordings (where available) and the backup audio recordings were processed through Praat for the instrumental validation of impressionistic noticings.

The aim, however, is always to try to have the same kind of access to the features that could have been perceived and oriented to by the participants themselves at the moment of speaking, which is why the choice of units of representation or measurement (e.g. semitones, or Hertz logarithmic) represents what has been experimentally found to be closer to auditory percepts (Borden et al, 1994; Johnson, 2004; Morton, Marcus, & Frankish, 1976; Nolan, 2003)

In order to carry out detailed and “open minded” (Walker, 2012) parametric-impressionistic listening that enables the analyst to later record phonetic detail, a clear understanding of the features making up different prosodic and phonetic phenomena is essential. Assuming that “reference listening” (Local & Kelly, 1989) is one of the useful ways of approaching the transcription process, then the knowledge of the constituent parameters making up phonetic detail becomes relevant as a starting point, before the analyst is able to make more precise descriptions.

The study of phonetic detail in this work attends to these principles and will focus on how co-participants deploy these resources to make their contributions hearable as a(n) (co)animation, relative to each other’s productions to create coherence, and for the indexing of stance.

3.7.2.2. Phonetic parameters and their acoustic features

Phonetic features that can be part of a record of detail include:

- pitch: contour, level, range and register
- loudness
- duration
- tempo
- rhythm
- phonation types: voice quality
- articulatory features: voice/place/manner of articulation of consonants, direction of airflow, release, height/frontness/rounding of vowels.

Each of the features above bears its own constitutive acoustic, articulatory and auditory features which can be exploited interactionally in different ways. This section focuses on some important features considered in the analysis of these parameters. Before delving into each, a general note on the management of possible challenges around conversational data for prosodic analysis is made.

3.7.2.3 Acoustic measurements in conversational data

The first observation is that naturally-occurring data does not offer the same kinds of comparability that laboratory data possesses. This means that forms of normalisation (Thomas, 2010) need to be put in place for an acoustic analysis of the phenomena in order to allow for intra- and inter-speaker comparison. For that end, and following Walker (2004; 2017), a representative sample of one minute of speech per participant was collected and descriptive statistics around their pitch baseline, topline, and midline (based on the median) was determined. All observations and analyses of pitch across speakers or within the same speaker have been made on the basis of f0 scaling to logarithmic scales (Hz log and semitones, Nolan, 2003), as mentioned earlier on.

The second observation is around the treatment of overlap. Whenever available, the separate channel recordings were used, though due to the proximity between speakers, often the voice of both speakers is hearable. As Kurtić, Brown, and Wells (2013:725) explain:

“While the temporal onset and offset of overlap are relatively straightforward to identify, the extraction of features such as F0 and intensity poses a major challenge for current sound separation techniques, as it does for the listener, however skilled.”

Whenever overlapping talk is found, the perceptual details have been compared to the timing of articulatory gestures on video, and an explicit note about the possible unreliability of the observation has been made.

Having discussed some of the main procedures, the following introduces a few observations regarding the different parameters that have been studied:

Pitch and f0

All the measurements and figures of f0 height and contours were made only after manual inspection of the f0 traces in Praat and correction of any errors due to microprosodic effects (Ladefoged, 2003) was completed. The unit selected for measurement was Hertz logarithmic, and for normalisation and comparison across speakers, semitones were used.

Pitch height and pitch register: the perception of the “tone of voice” as being high (<h>) or low (<l>), which depends on the rate of vibration of the vocal folds, is measured through its acoustic correlate: fundamental frequency (F0), in Hertz (Hz).

Each speaker can exhibit a certain pitch range, “a speaker’s overall speaking range during a given conversation” (Szczepek-Reed 2011:79), and a pitch register or span, the local choice within a particular stretch of speech. Each speaker’s range was established in the method already described, and a mid-range reference point was chosen from the median (and not the mean), in the understanding that values within a speaker’s range are generally skewed towards the baseline (Walker, 2004).

Pitch contours are said to be tunes that span over a longer domain than the segment. The “inventory” of possible pitch contours has been historically defined in different ways according to different traditions and based on different varieties. Therefore, in-keeping with Interactional Linguistic studies that follow the British tradition of the school of London (e.g. O’Connor, Arnold, & Arnold, 1961) and as captured through the GAT2 system, the following relevant contours will be considered from their starting trajectory in the focal accent, and their final point at the end of the phrase will be specified, thus:

Contour	Finishing point (termination)
Falling (ˋ)	To low (.) To mid (;)*
Rising (ˊ)	To high (?) To mid (,)
Level (ˉ)	mid (ˉ) high (↑ˉ)
Rising-falling (ˊˋ)	To low (.) To mid (;)*
Falling-rising (ˋˊ)	To high (?) To mid (,)
Stylised tones	low + mid (↓ˋx ↑ˋx) high + mid (↑ˋx ↓ˋx)

Table 3.4 Inventory of pitch contours and tone marks employed in transcription and analysis (those marked with * may be treated as stylised tones)

Pitch height or level is said to be significant at the level of the “onset”, or the first-placed but secondary accent in the intonation phrase. Before the focal accent, upsteps and downsteps in pitch may be found and these may be repeated in the intonation phrase in a series of steps (climbing or sliding heads). All significant pitch changes have been transcribed using the conventions of GAT2, particularly through the use of arrows (↑↓), though for further verifiability, f0 traces are also provided.

Loudness and Intensity

Loudness, acoustically manifested as *intensity*, is “dependent on the amplitude of the sound wave, the size of the variation in air pressure” (Ladefoged, 2003:90), measured in decibels (dB). This is perceived and annotated as loud/forte (<f>) or soft/piano (<p>), increasing/crescendo (<cres>) or decreasing/diminuendo (<dim>). The typical loudness values for conversation, according to Szczepek Reed (2011: 180), center around 60 dB, and whispering, around 30 dB. Loudness values in this work will be treated as indicative, but given the complexity of loudness as a perceptual and acoustic phenomenon (Baken & Orlikoff, 2000; Borden et al., 1994), impressionistic observations will prevail.

Speech Rate and Tempo

Tempo-Speech Rate: perceived and represented in GAT2 as fast/allegro (<all>), slow/lento (<len>), increasing/accelerando (<acc>) or decreasing/rallentando (<rall>), *tempo* has been measured in this corpus as syllables per second, taking the canonical rate and not the surface rate, in keeping with studies that state that it is closer to how speakers perceive tempo (Plug, Lennon, & Smith, 2019). The reference values to warrant changes in tempo have been collected from neighbouring talk and set locally and at the level of representative samples of speech, though as with loudness, impressionistic observations will be privileged.

Rhythm

Rhythm. One of the most complex parameters to establish in conversational data is that of rhythm. In the current work, the approach selected was that of identifying, whenever designed by speakers, patches of isochronous speech as “perceptual gestalts” (Auer, Couper-Kuhlen, & Müller, 1999; Couper-Kuhlen, 1993). Here isochrony is understood as the perception of a grouping and pattern of rhythmic beats of prosodic prominence happening at similar intervals in time. Perceptual similarity across intervals was defined in such a way that it avoids “perceptual fusion”, with at least 0.5 second spacing (Arvaniti, 2009) and with a threshold of inter-interval variability no larger than 20% (Auer et al, 1999). It is acknowledged, however, that the perception of rhythm is a complex matter, and it has been found that events with longer inter-interval variability have still been perceived to be isochronous.

The procedure included first the identification of rhythmic beats perceptually, with the identification of prosodic prominences (pitch upsteps or downsteps, beginning of pitch contour, loudness shifts) and then the marking of beats on the f0 peak/trough in Praat textgrid (Ogden & Hawkins, 2015). These techniques were accompanied with the overlay of a digital metronome onto the audio track to allow for a more objective comparison of the perceptual aspects.

The rhythmic information was presented in textgrids with an * marking the location of the beats and another tier with the measured duration of the interval in seconds (as in Figure 3.9 below)

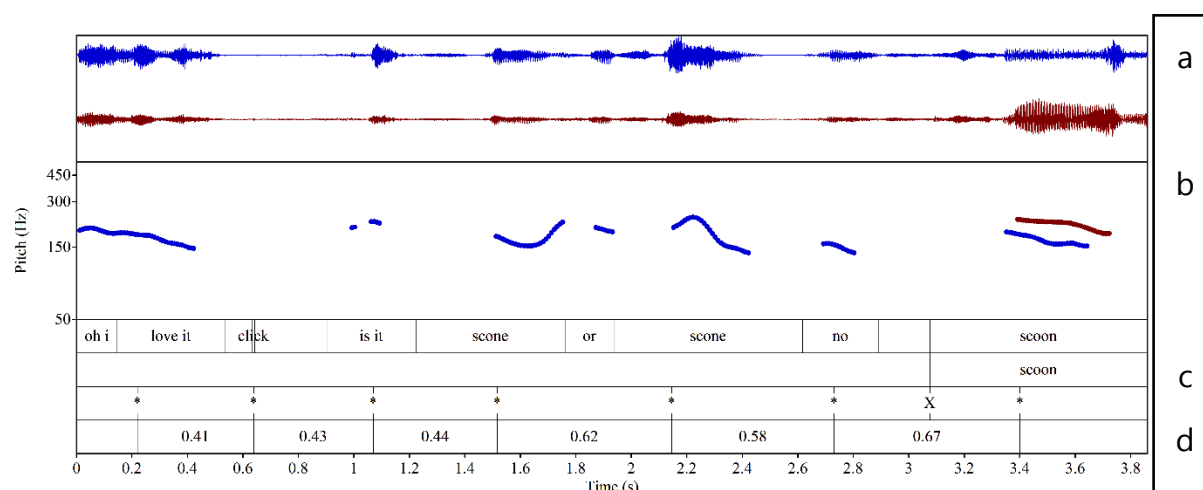


Figure 3.9 Praat textgrid with a) waveforms b) f0 in Hz logarithmic c) textgrids with words d) beats * and time intervals in seconds between beats.

Voice quality and articulatory settings

Voice quality/articulatory settings: The investigation of voice quality is made difficult given the lack of comparable contexts in this kind of data, which makes acoustic validation more complex. Voice quality shifts from modal voice were identified auditorily and the kind of quality was labelled as a result of reference listenings (Local & Kelly, 1989) with materials by Laver (2009) and Esling, Moisik, & Coey (2015). The description of the shifts was made with the support of the Vocal Profile Analysis (Beck, 2005; San Segundo & Mompean, 2017) to establish the relevant perceptual and articulatory parameters (see Appendix IV for a copy of the full profile). For some supralaryngeal articulatory settings, visual information on larynx lowering or raising, changes of the tilt of the neck or lowering of the chin, and labial posture was also used. In terms of acoustics, relevant information from the spectrogram was obtained in the case of creaky and breathy voice.

The composite Praat figures in this work were devised using Gareth Walker's "visreps" scripts.

3.7.3 Annotation of gesture, posture, facial expression, and gaze

Having determined that multimodal resources will be seen as a complex but the import of individual components will not be cherry-picked, but rather, foregrounded as a result of analysis, the study of gesture, posture, facial expression, and gaze has been subject to the same kind of parametric observation as phonetic detail.

This section describes the conventions selected for the annotation and analysis of gesture. Gestural trajectories have been traditionally grouped in **gestural units** broken down in stages, or gestural **phases** (Kendon, 1980), of which only the stroke is said to be obligatory:

1. *Rest, or home* position (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002), a stable position from where the movement is seen to start
2. *Preparation*: with the limb moving away from home position
3. *Pre-stroke hold*: the point reached at the end of the preparation but with a retention of the gesture before the peak of activity
4. *Stroke* (obligatory): the peak of effort and the point where the meaning of the gesture is said to be realised, also generally done in the centre of the gesture space
5. *Post-stroke hold*, another possible holding at the end of the stroke moment but before the retraction begins
6. *Retraction/recovery*: the return to home position or a new rest position

These trajectories were annotated delimited for hand and arm gestures, as well as for postural shifts in the data, on limb-identified tiers for each speaker in ELAN, and their alignment with speech whenever relevant was identified through a muted frame-by-

frame replaying of the video and through the comparison of the temporality of these non-vocal events with vocal events as marked independently in Praat.

McNeill (1992) proposes a **classification of manual gestures** which has been taken up in the labeling of interactionally-relevant gestures. Only the categories used have been included below:

- *Iconic gestures* refer to events, objects, or actions that are being described verbally and bear a clear resemblance to their referents. These kinds of gestures can be said to be presented from an observer viewpoint (O-VPT) or a character viewpoint (C-VPT).
- *Deictic gestures* are pointing gestures that point out locations in space
- *Beats* are small, fast, low energy gestures that may be performed repeatedly and may be closely synchronised to speech objects (Loehr, 2007; McClave, 1994), and are usually the kinds of gestures studied in connection to speech and for what is known as “(audio)visual prosody”

Whenever relevant, the **handshapes** are described according to their similarity to the signs in the American Sign Language manual alphabet (McNeill, 1992; Tennant & Brown, 1998).



Figure 3.10 ASL fingerspelling (From McDonald et al., 2017)

Another relevant observation is around the **spatial frame of reference**, or the gesture space (McNeill, 1992). For the purposes of this work, only central versus peripheral spaces have been identified when this becomes interactionally relevant as well as the **directionality and perspective** of the gesture, and whenever necessary, these areas have been shown in the analyses as they pertain to the particular seating configurations of the participants. Possibly measurable kinetic issues of **amplitude, iterativity and speed** will also be described but in more impressionistic terms in this work.

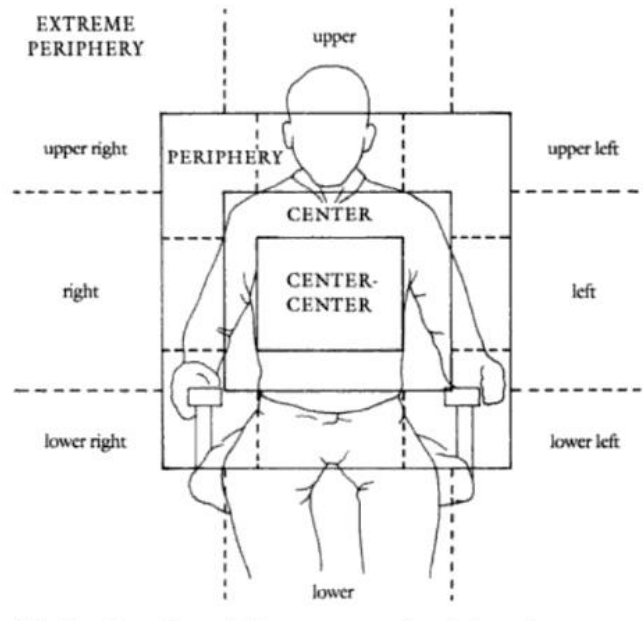


Figure 3.11 The gesture space as defined in McNeill (1992:89)

As established for prosodic detail, gesture will not only be considered as a single speaker's phenomenon, and processes of gestural orientation will be taken as evidence for the interactional relevance of certain gestures. In defining processes of gestural mirroring/matching or continuation, underlying features will be considered, in particular around whether it is the same articulator used, if the trajectory and direction of the gesture is comparable, and where in the gestural space they occur.

It is acknowledged, though, that there are more systematic and fine-tuned descriptions of gestural trajectories and kinematics (Lausberg & Sloetjes, 2016), and more advanced ways of determining the alignment of speech and co-speech gestures (Pouw & Dixon, 2019), such as the use of motion tracking, and it is expected that these tools will inform future research. However, even though these tools are useful for visualisation, more needs to be known about how the timing of co-speech gestures and speed or trajectories of gestures are perceived by co-participants in conversation.

3.7 Summary

This conversation-analytic, interactional-linguistic study on the embodied organisation and design of co-animations will then assume that the phenomenon is made up of multimodal constructions whose components will become relevant and be foregrounded and oriented to by co-participants in each local situation of interaction. The use of embodied resources, of which linguistic resources are part, are not a single-speaker's phenomenon but are interpreted, negotiated and transformed by co-participants in interaction.

Instruments that allow for the recording, registering, annotation, and analysis of especially the phonetic and gestural aspects of the data are used to ensure replicability and verifiability. However, because of the need to ensure an emic perspective -i.e. a participant-informed perspective that should be consistent with participant access to the phenomena-, impressionistic auditory and visual observations of design detail will be given an important role.

Having discussed the research questions and the methodological assumptions and procedures instrumental to their resolution, the next chapter will delve into the phenomenon of co-animation, beginning with an overview of the collection and of the participant problems associated with the deployment of the practice.

4. Co-animation: jointly opening, sustaining, and closing the animation space

4.1 Introduction: Animation, co-animation, and the animation space

This research aims at describing the practice of co-animation - the creation of sequences where two participants are seen to be animating the same voice - and how it contributes to the building of momentary collectivities. In previous chapters, some of the most relevant studies of animation were reviewed, and some of its defining features have been identified. Animation as understood in this work entails *the introduction of the voice of a figure who is either not present in the here-and-now, or whose words are not understood by participants to be rooted in the here-and-now*. In staging this voice, a participant is seen to be:

- effecting a *deictic and reality displacement* into another past or fictional context of interaction
- changing *participation frameworks*, bringing to the here-and-now not only absent or displaced speakers, but also absent addressed recipients;
- producing a *non-serious multimodal enactment* of a distal scene that creates *vividness and immediacy*, providing a recipient with *evidence and access* as a witness who can thus *empathetically insert themselves* into the animated scene;
- And at the same time, indexing some form of *detachment and distance from the animated content*, turning it into an object that invites *evaluation and joint manipulation*.

These displacements that animation entails while making certain next actions conditionally relevant are navigated quite seamlessly by participants, and this is the result of interactional work. In the following example (to be analysed in full in Chapter 6), featuring a mother (Cassie) and a daughter (Leonie) co-complaining about Cassie's partner, an absent third party, these characteristics of animation become relevant. During an ongoing indirect complaint episode, Cassie is seen to move from her talk in the here-and-now *about* her partner, (lines 33-34) to talking *as* the partner, which shifts the referent of the use of the pronoun "I" in "Oh I'm ill" (line 36) from Cassie to him, doing what both co-participants recognise as the complained-about behaviour. This is not taken to be an announcement of her illness to Leonie, and neither is the use of "you" in line 37 oriented by Leonie as being addressed to her.

Example 4.1 MCY09PIN "Ill" (GAT2 Basic adapted; MMT)

```
33 CAS i dont `know it s just like? (0.2) ((sniff))
34     you `just dont always go `on about it ?(0.4)
35 LEO `no you +~do::[nt,      ]
    cas      +...RH up telephone gesture---->
36 CAS      [((click))] ↑↑2oh im `ill+ (0.3)
    cas  >-----, , +
37     i spoke to you ten `minutes ago = you were `ill:; =
38     = `yes:;
39     i `g[et i2.]
```

Cassie's animation in lines 36-39 is what we will call the "**first animation**", which may either consist of the animation of a single voice, or of animated dialogue of two or more voices. Cassie in line 35 foregrounds the animation through a held telephone gesture initiated before verbally bringing the figure of the partner to life in the interaction, and this is the first marker of the opening of what we will call the "**animation space**" (based on the notion of the "reporting space", Niemelä, 2011), an interactional space which co-exists and is intertwined with the here-and-now in

complex ways, but which consists of material associated with a different participation framework anchored in a real or fictional “there-and-then”.

The schematic representation of the animation space below shows Cassie’s animation in the there-and-then of the animation space as part of a wide area marked with a blue triangle. The dotted lines restrain the verbal material, but the wider blue animation space incorporates other aspects of the animation, such as bodily behaviour, and the weaving in of the stance in the here-and-now, whose temporal domain does not necessarily coincide with that of the verbal material (see section 6.3). Whereas the verbal material may be more unequivocal in the identification of the boundaries of animation, the animation space has fuzzy boundaries, and as this thesis will reveal, this indeterminacy makes the animation space expandable by co-participants.

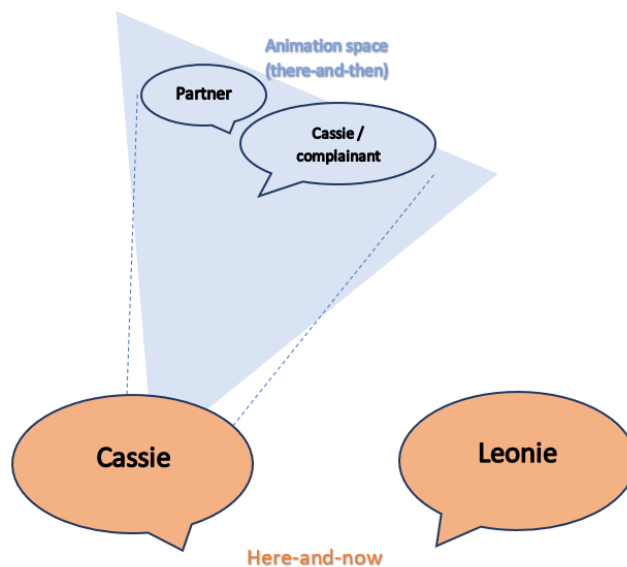


Figure 4.1 Schematic representation of the animation space in the "Ill" example (lines 36-39)

Therefore, an important problem for participants, given the displacements and overlaid stances that animation entails, is how to attribute authorship and evaluative stances accurately. Where the figures animated involve the voices of absent others (the partner, in line 36) and the voices of the animator addressing the absent party and not

her recipient in the here-and-now (lines 37-39) while at the same time making relevant the stance towards this absent party in the present context of interaction, the question of how the animation space as a displaced context of interaction is contextualised and made recognisable as such becomes relevant.

Moreover, it was shown in Chapter 2 also how Leonie continues the animation of presumably Cassie's (or Cassie + her) voice and addresses the same absent party (lines 40-42), keeping the participation frameworks of the prior animation, another action that needs to be made hearable as such. In other words, Leonie keeps the animation space open, and this is interpreted by Cassie accordingly.

Example 4.1 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Basic adapted)

```
40 LEO [hi hkno:]:w,=  
41      =you htold me you were ill hyesterday:-  
42      you ↓htold me you were ill the day behfo::re huhuh° (0.4)
```

Thus, Leonie's talk in lines 40-42 make up what we call a **responsive co-animation**, and Cassie + Leonie's production from lines 36-42 is what we call **co-animation** as a phenomenon, a combination of contributions involving a joint animation of the same voice, schematised in figure 4.2 below. The animation space is thus considered to be a permeable (in-keeping with Niemelä, 2011), jointly-negotiated, multi-layered interactional space with its own (displaced) participation frameworks, which is overlaid onto the here-and-now of the interaction, and interacts with it.

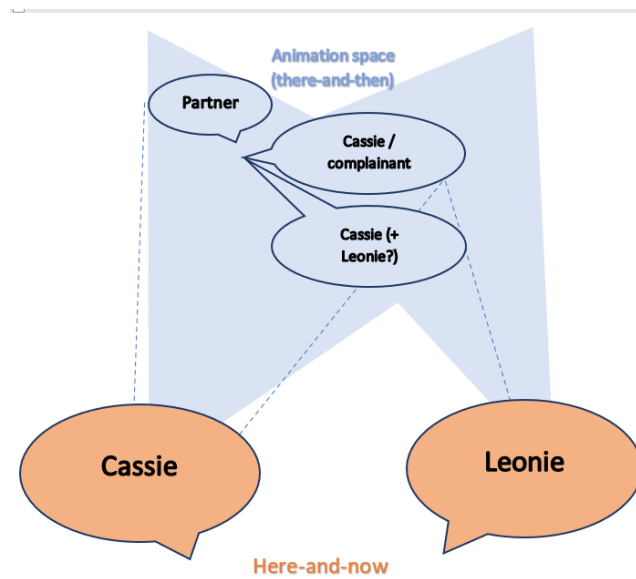


Figure 4.2 Schematic representation of the shared animation space (lines 36-42)

Responsive co-animations, then, are animations by a co-participant (who will be called Other, or B) in a responsive slot, of the voice/figure that the first animator (Self, or A) has just been “doing being” in the prior turn. These co-animated responses can be continuations in post-possible completion position, or they can be anticipatory completions, started at “opportunity spaces” (Lerner, 2004a) or in recognitional overlap. As with many other co-productions, the speaker whose contribution was extended or completed may introduce a confirmation or rejection of B’s contribution, or initiate repair on it.

Normally and overwhelmingly in the collection, it is first animators that provide an agreement token in third position, confirming the suitability of the prior responsive animation. In this case, however, Cassie’s response in line 43 seems to continue reporting the prior telephone conversation, animating her voice as a response to the partner still, announcing something that appears to reveal the bad timing of his call, as they were at the clinic awaiting a diagnosis of Leonie’s illness.

Example 4.1 MCY09PIN “Ill” (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

- 43 CAS (we re at) the `clinic in `york (0.3)
44 °huhuhu
45 (g(h°)oing r(h°)ound a) `roundabout `twi:ce. h°
46 LEO bu?°hh he didnt give a `shit when he was on the ´phone, (0.4)

Thus, the animation space in this case is not closed by the first animator, Cassie, but by Leonie in line 46, who explicates, in the here-and-now, a stance that could be part of Cassie's reference to the clinic and roundabout problem in line 45. In other words, the animation space is permeable and open for manipulation by all participants, who jointly manage its duration and closing points.

The current chapter starts by discussing in more detail the kinds of interactional problems that co-participants need to solve whenever animation is deployed, particularly around the intertwined reality of the animation space with the ongoing courses of action and relational issues in the here-and-now.

By initially zooming in into *first* animations, this chapter will show how the shift from the here-and-now into the there-and-then of the animation space is contextualised. Moreover, given that the current research centres around how co-participants *continue and complete prior animations* while satisfying the conditional relevance of the response, an overview of how first animations are formatted, what next actions are made relevant, and how much access B is given to the content and action of the animation before the co-animated contribution starts, is essential for an understanding of co-animation. As Niemelä (2011:56) argues, the first reporting will act as a "reference point" for any subsequent animations by co-participants.

Therefore, the first part of this chapter makes a broad overview of the animation space with a focus on what (if any) quotatives are used as prefaces by the participants in this collection, on the animation content's deictic anchoring, and their prosodic and

gestural-postural configuration inasmuch they contextualise animation as such, while also overlaying a stance of the animator towards the animated content in the here-and-now. This chapter then turns to what type of content and voices get represented or re-enacted, and by whom, and what affordances and consequential implicativeness might lie in those features.

The second half of this chapter focuses on how co-participants keep the animation space open by using co-animation as a responsive option. This section introduces the positional configurations for responsive animation in the study (refer back to Chapter 3 for an overview, and chapter 5 for a detailed description) and their associated risks and demands: pre-emptive completion animations, contiguous post-possible completion responsive animations. Some of the alternatives to animation in the responsive slot are also explored.

The final section of the chapter will describe how co-participants exit the animation space and orient to co-animation in the collection, revealing the frequent “success” of co-animations as responses.

4.2 Participant problems around the deployment of (co-)animation

Of importance to the present study, but firstly, of relevance to the participants themselves, is how first animations are introduced, how they are made hearable as animations, and how responsive animations, in turn, resonate (Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012) with the previous turn. This section will address some of these participant problems and how they are oriented to by co-participants across the collection.

Part of the complexity of animation and co-animation lies in the *simultaneous management of the here-and-now and the there-and-then*. It concurrently involves

the (re-)enactment of a behaviour/event anchored in another place and time, but one which also projects a particular stance, and which is deployed as a resource for the needs of the here-and-now of the interaction, making a particular kind of response conditionally relevant.

Therefore, one of the challenges for first animators is to mark the shift from the here-and-now into the parallel there-and-then of the animation space, to make recognisable the shift from "doing being" oneself in the development of a certain activity with the current co-participant, to "doing being" Self or (An)Other in a different time or space. This alternative interactional space, the animation space, is opened with a role shift, a change in participation frameworks, and forms of temporal and locative displacement, as well as through prosodic and bodily shifts.

However, as stated earlier, the boundaries of the animation space are fuzzy, as different resources start their trajectories at different points (e.g. transitions into the animation space may be foregrounded gesturally or posturally; Mandel and Ehmer, 2019) even before the animated speech is presented, and at the same time, some of these elements of design are in fact projecting a stance from the perspective of the here-and-now onto the animated voice. Nonetheless, the identification of left and right boundaries of animated content is not ostensibly treated as a repairable by co-participants, so an interesting task for the analyst might be to identify why this is so, and how this is managed.

Another issue that appears unproblematic for co-participants -and therefore is ripe for investigation as an interactional achievement- is the successful ascription of stance and authorship of the animated content. An animator is simultaneously heard to be quoting -without necessarily any explicit concerns of authenticity-, overlaying their stance onto animated content that bears a usually identifiable author, who is also

ascribed a specific action and stance (Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; M. H. Goodwin, 1990; Günthner, 1997; Niemelä, 2010; 2011; Siromaa, 2005). This could render an interactional risk in that co-participants could potentially mis-ascribe views and words to the current animator, or may respond to an animation towards an absent third party as if it had been addressed to them. Nevertheless, this is never the case in the collection.

This *interplay of co-existing stances and authorship* between the speaker in the here-and-now and the animated voice are consequential for the affiliative concerns that, as will be explained later, seem to motivate the deployment of animation in the first place. And unless the animator's attention lies with verbatim quotation, authenticity does not seem to be an issue for the participants, who treat the content -possibly for practical purposes of the progressivity of the interaction- as if it had been produced in that way, or at least refrain from repairing it (Clark & Gerrig, 1990).

Therefore, first animators need to frame their shifts into the animation space to their co-participants, also contextualising in some way that certain words and stances are ascribed to a figure (displaced Self/A', or the voice of Another/X) in the there-and-then, while simultaneously contextualising the current action and the action that it makes relevant in the here-and-now. These interactional exigencies for the first animation are schematised in figure 4.3 below. These aspects are managed simultaneously through turn design and sequential position, as this and the next three chapters will demonstrate in different ways.

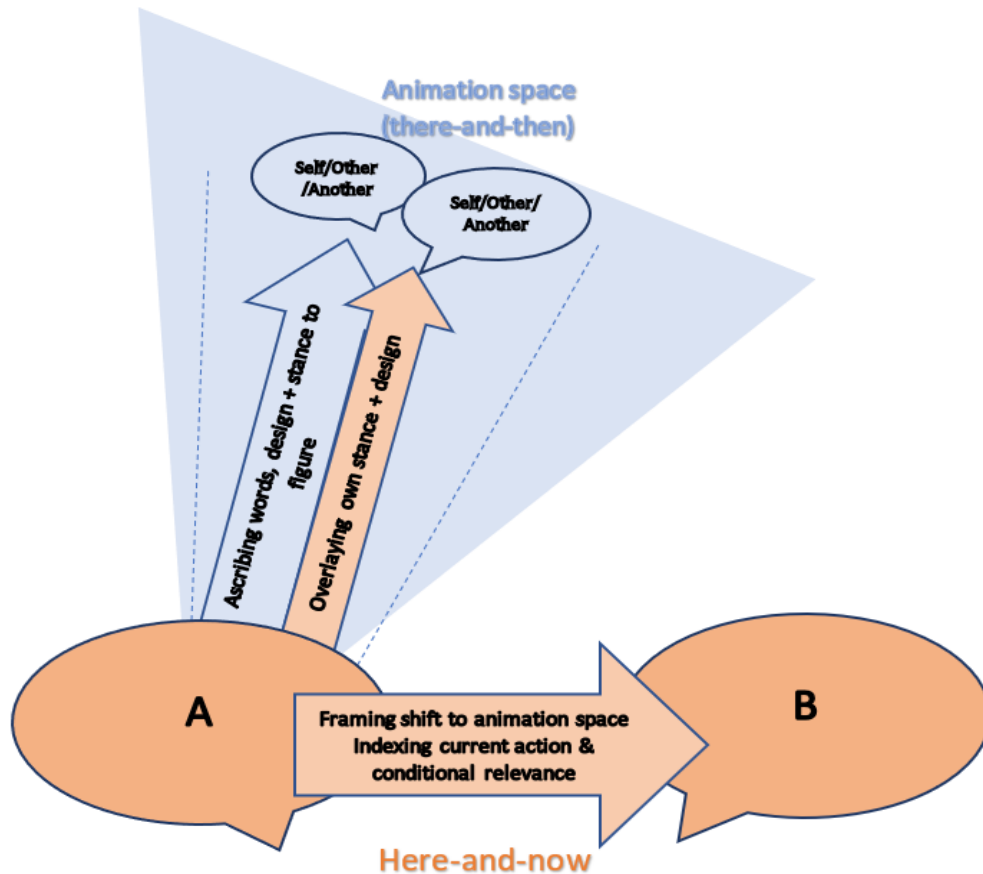


Figure 4.3 Interactional demands around first animations

At some point in the development of the ongoing turn, after the opening of the animation space, and particularly in this collection towards the end of the ongoing activities, first animators may close the animation space and make a particular responsive action relevant, particularly a display of endorsement, solidarity, or a shared display of amusement (see Chapters 6 and 7).

If co-participants are to re-open this animation space - as they are seen to do in our work- then they need to *make their contributions designedly hearable as continuations or completions of an animation of the same voice*, by format-tying to some of the features of the interactionally constructed there-and-then by first animators. Co-participants need to be heard as picking up design features of prior turns to ensure this recognisability.

But because they are introducing animated content “on behalf of” a prior speaker, this constitutes an interactional risk of “getting it wrong”, or of misrepresenting the first speaker’s views. Co-animating could potentially be treated as a way of trumping A’s entitlement to own their views and experiences and to the right to “speak for themselves” (Goffman, 1971; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Lerner, 1996a; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Sacks, 1984b). This is particularly relevant in a great part of the collection of troubles-tellings and complaint stories where only A is seen to have first-hand access, where the content animated is part of an A-event (Labov & Fanshel, 1977) and B is thus seen to hold a lower epistemic advantage -that is, they would be K-relative to the animated reference; see Heritage, 2012b. In this respect, whose voice is animated and by whom, and the connection of the animated content to reality becomes of paramount importance when it comes to evaluating these interactional risks. In order to avoid any misestimations, co-animators need to rely on the epistemic and affective ground previously built.

Concurrently, in the here-and-now, co-participants’ contributions are primarily to be designed as coherent responses informed by the conditional relevance of prior turns, and in this sense, they also need to build on prior cues as to what an (dis)aligning affective stance and (dis)affiliative response would be. Should co-participants co-animate, they are highly accountable for such a non-canonical responsive action of co-opting the animator role in the development of an activity that they may not necessarily be entitled to expand, so the relevance of their actions in the here-and-now should be manifest to first animators. In this respect, the relational reward should be greater than the relational risk of disaligning by trumping epistemic entitlement and ownership.

So co-participants seen to be co-animating need to also simultaneously orient to the there-and-then by making their animation recognisable as such, and to the here-and-now with the production a fitted (dis)affiliative response that reveals understanding of the course of action being implemented, as figure 4.4 below shows.

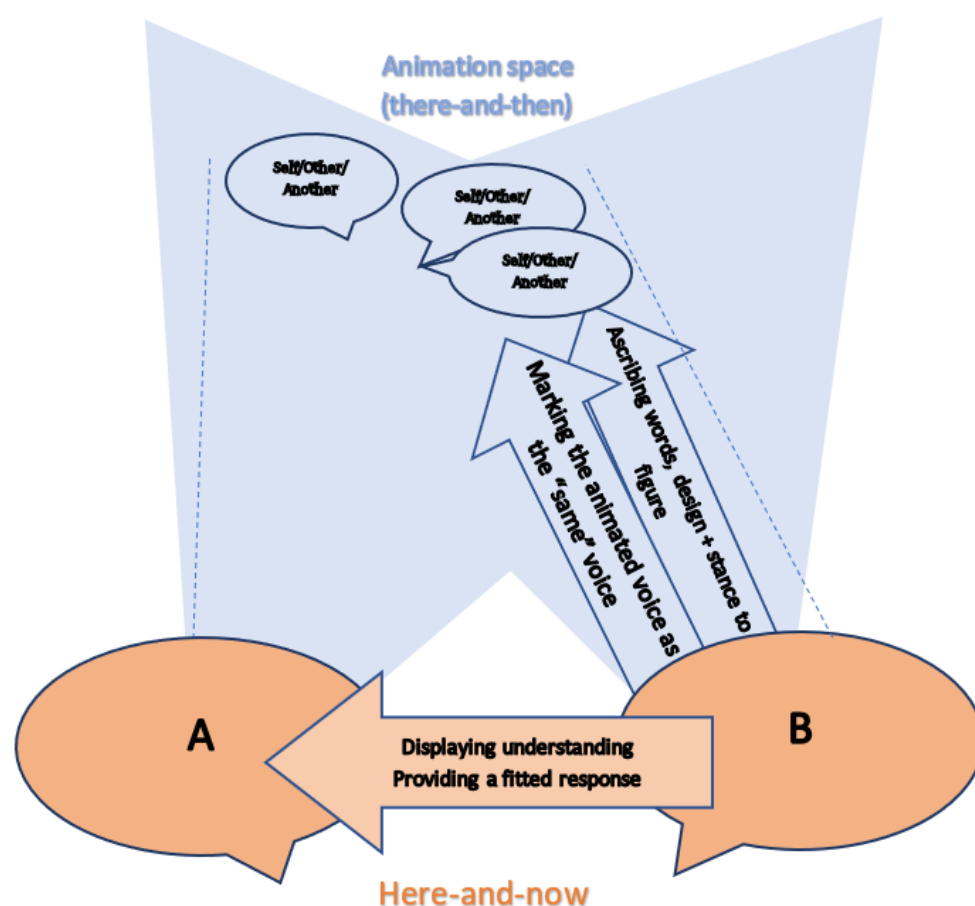


Figure 4.4 Interactional demands around *responsive* animations

In summary, the deployment of (co-)animation poses a number of interactional exigencies and risks: first animators need to mark the shift into the animation space and design their TCUs in a way that the proposed authorship and stance attributions of the words and their delivery can be discernible to the co-participant. Simultaneously, the course of action and conditional relevance of the deployment of an animation at turn boundary also needs to be made recognisable. Co-animators, in

turn, need to orient to the conditional relevance of the turn by A by providing a response, while also mobilising the resources that may make their contribution hearable as the animation of the same voice.

This section has introduced some of the complex issues around animation that this and the next chapters unveil and analyse. The following sections first turn the attention to the *first animator*, whereas the remaining sessions pave the way for the analysis of co-animation in further chapters by discussing how animation is an option at the response slot, and in what positional configurations relative to a first animation these responsive animations emerge, as well as how these responsive co-animations are oriented to.

4.3 Opening the “animation space”: Framing the animation

First animators mark their animated material as disjunctive from the here-and-now in different ways. In our first example (“Ill”), the mother was found to make a Y-shaped hand gesture resembling a telephone to mark the opening of the animation space, with the voice of the partner on the phone produced with a lower pitch range relative to her midline, and pressed sides of the lips, and with the use of the second person singular pronoun “you” and gaze aversion from Leonie, which marks this as being addressed to this absent third party and not to Leonie.

These resources are seen to be marking the shift in voices but also contextualising a particular stance. This section focuses on first animations and discusses what forms of verbal and non-verbal, vocal and non-vocal (Laver, 1994) framing or of early flagging (Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999) of animation are employed by first animators in the collection to make their contributions hearable as displaced away from the here-and-now.

Before moving on to the description of the resources as they are deployed in the animations in the collection, a set of important observations stemming from the collection needs to be made:

- Not all animations make use of the same resources;
- The resources framing or flagging the animation have different temporal alignments relative to the verbal material of the animation;
- The same or different (clusters of) resources within an animation may concurrently be seen to orient to the shift into the animation space, while also contextualising a stance towards the animated content/voice;

Given that many of the forms of indexing the opening of the animation space are consistent with those described in the studies reviewed in Chapter 2, the following sections will only focus on those framing devices that have been found to be analytically consequential to the emergence of responsive co-animations, as the framing resources of first animations will become consequential for resulting co-animators, who will embed their contributions in different ways to ensure that their own contributions, contiguously placed, are heard as co-animations. So the design of first animations will then lay the ground for the design of co-animated contributions that will be heard to orient to one or more of these resources in responsive position, as Chapter 5 will describe in detail.

4.3.1 Quotative prefaces

Studies of reported speech have established that one of the most frequent ways in which animations are hearable as such is through **quotative prefaces**. These are explicit verbal markers of the opening of an animation space, and they may foreground

the type of animated content, and/or be part of a structure that anticipates a stance towards it. When present, quotatives will be retrospectively taken by responsive animators to also encompass the domain of their own animations, and it will be claimed that the use of certain quotatives over others is facilitative in a way of responsive co-animation:

In the collection, the distribution of quotatives is uneven, as figure 4.5 below summarises, with over half of the collection not exhibiting explicit verbal quotative prefaces:

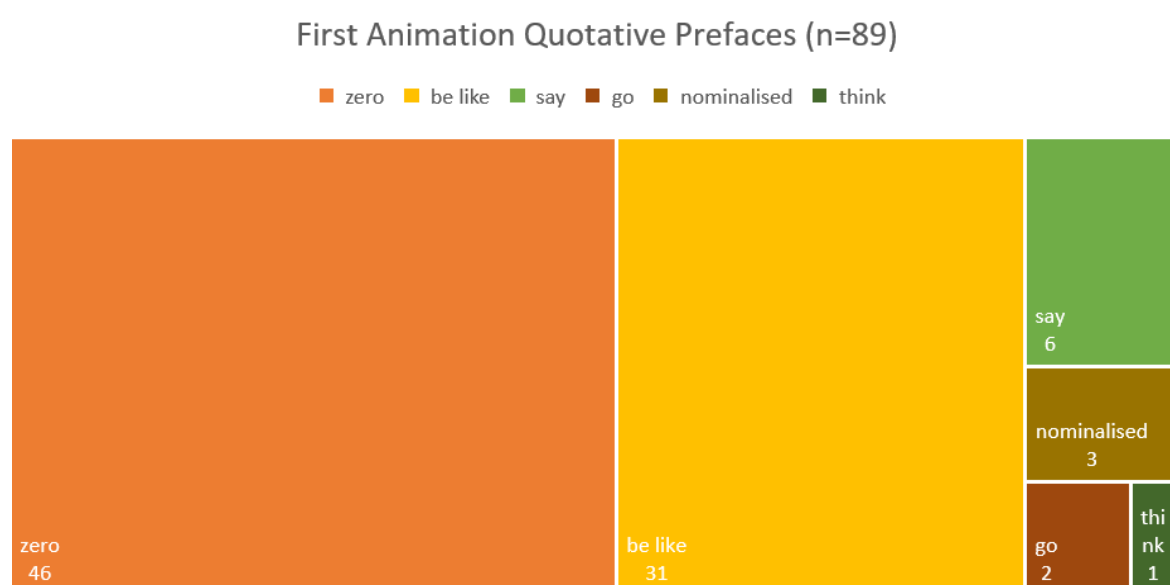


Figure 4.5 Distribution of quotative prefaces in the collection

The first analytic observation to support the claim of permeability of the animation space is that first animators are more routinely found to use quotatives, whereas co-animators in responsive position do not normally employ them, making use of other forms of marking of the continuation/completion of the animation (see Chapter 5 for an in-depth discussion). Therefore, retrospectively, the first quotative in the first animation (whenever present) is treated as extending its domain to include the animation by the co-animator in the responsive slot. A second quotative is normally

avoided by co-participants, who embed their responsive animations in a way that prevents a break in contiguity between both animations.

The following example (4.4) shows the most common configuration in the collection, a first animation with a quotative and a responsive co-animation going unprefaced. Jon is telling Dan about his work at a drama camp and is now recounting his reaction on being lent a lightboard by a theatre producer, which is followed by Dan's reformulated animation of Jon's celebration:

Example 4.2 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (GAT2, Basic + Fine, adapted)

```
16  JON so he brought this `lightboard;
17      and <<whisp> <<all> I [was] like>=
18  DAN                                     [°hh]
19  JON =`ste::ve. = youre a^mazing; >
20  DAN haha <<p> you saved [my `lih°(fe).>      ]
21  JON                                     [<<f>brought a light]board;>
```

It is of analytic relevance to note that the traditional markers of reported speech, the quotatives "say/said", are highly infrequent (6/89) in the collection of co-animations, with no instances of "tell/told". The use of these quotatives often implies that actual speech is being reported, indexing a greater level of authenticity (Buchstaller, 2001). Interestingly enough, the few cases where "say" is used involve interactions or the quoting of absent third parties with a certain authority (government figures, parents, supervisors, potential employers), whose misquoting may make first animators accountable for. This case (4.3) illustrates this. As they discuss royal feuds through history, Evie brings up the figure of the Deputy Prime Minister refusing to return to India the Koh-i-Noor diamond:

Example 4.3 MCY20MUG "Gift" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
02  EVI i just `love the: um ((click))
```

03 you `know they were asking for the kohinoor ´diamond back? (0.6)
 04 and the res´pon(th°)se:::?
 05 SAM nh°nh°
 06 EVI from like? (.) the prime `minister and (´staff?) (0.91)
 07 i th(h°)ink nick ¯clegg (like) said-
 08 ((click)) ↑oh `no. (.) **were not gonna ´do tha?h°at**, haha (0.3)
 09 **`dont be ri~diculous??** ?ha?ha
 10 SAM ¯it ↓´was a ↑^gi:f:t

The next two cases illustrate similar uses of *say*. Angie telling Karen that she will have to contact her lab leader about what she believes is a mistake she made:

Example 4.4 MCY07BOTTLE "Cells" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

18 ANG i might go and and ask donny::; (.)
 19 be[cause payton] isnt ¯in:
 20 KAR [o:`kay.]
 21 ANG an:d ill just ¯say:: °h (0.2)
 22 I **dont `know if [it]**
 23 KAR [think] theres enough ^c[e::lls;]
 24 ANG [`cells] (on my:)

Only one case in the collection features the quotative "think", which does not mean that thoughts are not animated in the collection. Quite the contrary, a large number of animations are seen to introduce thoughts, but these are more often prefaced with the ambiguous "(be) like". The use of "think/thought", however, is common in the corpus for what is known as indirect reported speech (IRS, see Chapter 2, section 2.4.2), but as these do not become co-animations, they have not been included in the collection. The next interaction shows Angie's retrospective self-assessment of her behaviour in her first year as a student, introduced with "I think" (line 15):

Example 4.5 MCY7BOTTLE "Stressed" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

14 ANG but i just look `back;

15 and i ^ˈthink
16 ↑^ˈIhy: was i getting myself in^ˈsuch;
17 ^ˈli[ke]
18 KAR [s:]o::[^ˈstre]ssed.
19 ANG [its ^ˈtrue.]
20 KAR o:h exams are [the ^ˈworst (for that)=]
21 ANG [(^ˈo::h = i ^ˈknow;)]

Vastly, the most frequent quotative used by first-animators in the collection is “(be) like”. Beyond any sociolinguistic issues¹ around the prevalence of “(be) like” over other quotative options given the age of most speakers in the corpus, it would seem to be the case that the overwhelming use of “(be) like” has a bearing on the “relaxation” of the requirements of authenticity and the resulting lack of sanctioning of responsive animations that may in fact be encroaching on other speaker’s epistemic entitlement and ownership. The use of “(be) like” as a quotative has been discussed widely in the literature, but its most relevant aspect here is how it appears to blur the distinction between speech and thought (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Yule, Mathis, & Hopkins, 1992).

In this example, Evie complains about how being in her early twenties makes her feel old, and mentions what a friend she has known for a decade has said to her, and what her response to it was:

Example 4.6 “MCY”0MUG “Old” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

10 EVI it feels (very) ^ˈold? ^ˈhh
11 im slowly ^ˈdying? h[ha^ˈ]
12 SAM [(click)]

¹ Sociolinguistic studies have ascribed the use of “(be) like” initially to young populations (Buchstaller, 2001, 2013; Romaine & Lange, 1991), and it might need to be pointed out that the vast majority of the speakers recorded are around an age span of 18-25, with the exception of four speakers in MCY08SUNGLASSES and MCY09PIN, which may be a reason for this skewed distribution.

13 EVI [and she was **like**]
 14 SAM [**but** its:]
 15 EVI [**its our**] ↓ **ten(th) anni** ↓ **versary.**
 16 SAM [(i:h°)]
 17 EVI and i **was like** **sto:p** h°h°
 18 SAM ↓ **ple:ase.** h°
 19 EVI ?nh° ?nh°
 20 SAM **ye:ah,**

It is not clear - and it may not be of interactional import to the participants anyway - whether the reported content actually happened, or whether it is an accurate recreation of possible words or thoughts, and "(be) like" appears to further this ambiguity. In fact, it is this widespread deployment of "be like" which appears to contribute to the emergence of co-animation even for K- co-participants, in that all claims to authenticity are downplayed, and a particular affective stance is foregrounded, which could then contribute to the trumping of epistemic entitlement or accuracy over the affiliative concerns of the here-and-now.

A reduced number of cases are prefaced with "go/went" (2/89), known to be generally introducing vocalisations and response cries, more often found in animations doing demonstrating (Buchstaller, 2013; Clark & Gerrig, 1990; Mathis & Yule, 1994) than reporting talk, as in line 10 below, where Leonie enacts pain:

Example 4.7 "MCY"9PIN "IBS" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

01 CAS (cause so x) **tell** him. = **tell** him,
 02 that you (are like) gonna **be**, in absolute **agony.**=
 03 = you [**know?** (whats)]
 04 LEO [and he ll] probably **go** = **yeah;** = **i know(that;)**
 05 **tell me about it;**=
 06 **my i bee es (is well b(h°)ad;)** hehehe (1.3)
 07 °h (mate) this (**isnt**) **i bee es.**
 08 CAS **2a°hh 2u:::°hhh** (0.8) °hh

09 LEO °h i might ˘do that actIally,
10 i might go °ssss ˘u:::argh hahahahahaha
11 CAS ˘ye[ah. =˘cause]

One final verbal form of introduction of quotative content is infrequent, and stands somehow in between the structures found for “(be) like” and zero quotative prefaces. These structures, which we will call “nominalisations”, create a slot in which the animated content happens, which could have been preceded by “like” but was not. These are grammatical constructions where the animation is seen to be occupying the slot of a noun or noun phrase, and in a way, the place where the preface could have been would be represented in writing with a colon. Only the first of these formulas below was found in contiguous co-animation, whereas the others correspond to “recycled co-animations”, but they all share a lengthened vowel before the animation and a pause before the animated content is verbalised:

- [as opposed to:] + [pause] + [animation]

Example 4.8 MCY04SANDWICH “Desperate” GAT2 Basic, adapted)

32 JES =therell be a ˘pool of pre[˘sen]ters,
33 FIO [˘ye:ah.]
34 JES ˘hopefully, (0.6)
35 ˘a:nd (.) now that we actually ˘know some people? hh° (0.4)
36 FIO ˘ye:ah.
37 JES as o˘pposed to:; (.)
38 ˘ple::ase = c(h°)ome on my ˘sh(h°)ow [°hh] ha
39 FIO [ʔah°] ʔah° hahaha
40 JES °hh hh° °hh
41 FIO im ˘desperate. (.) ↑˘ple:::ase, (0.5)
42 ↓˘ye:ah.

- [I love the:] + [pause] + [animation]

Example 4.9 MCY20MUG “North of England” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

02 SAM and then: (.) they get a `bit too ex`cited,
03 and then they [go into `england,]
04 EVI [hahaha °hh]
05 SAM and `then theyre ~like (1.15)
06 `o:h; youre dis~tracted
07 (and) ~fighting each other,
08 ill `steal; = all of your `stuff? (0.4)
09 EVI i `lo:ve the:: (0.65)
10 `o:h. = england is dis`tracted.
11 `quick = we ll take [the north of ~eng(h°)land, h°]
12 SAM [((sniffy laugh))]

These cases are reminiscent of what Pascual (2014) calls “fictive interactions within the sentence”. These formats treat animations like noun phrases, as they stand in the place where noun phrases would be projectable. They are of interest to our study in two ways. On the one hand, these are perhaps the clearest forms of evidence that animations are interactional resources that act as objects for manipulation that get topicalised, abandoned, taken up again, and commented on. On the other hand, they are used more often as ways of creating resonance through the presentation of *contrasts* of different kinds, which seems to be an important issue for the practice of co-animation (see Chapter 5).

Finally, a large number of first animations go unprefaced in verbal terms, that is, they are introduced by what is known as a “zero quotative”. Even though some of these have marked embodied shifts that contextualise them as disjunctive from the voice of the speaker in the here-and-now, the shift is not done in verbal terms, as the “Ill” example previously shown reveals. Zero quotatives are frequently found in specific activities that mark a shift into a non-serious plane, particularly for teasing and mocking present and absent parties, and also in joint fictionalisations and

ventriloquising of third parties. Interestingly enough, these activities mark a very abrupt shift to a displaced reality that stands in contrast with the here-and-now.

The following example shows Fiona turning from a joint characterisation of the coot noise they hear in the here-and-now, into a fictional interaction with a person who enquires about the strange tempo in her musical performance, a fantasy that will incorporate the coot sound (see Chapter 7 for full analysis):

Example 4.10 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```
01 FIO ↑thAts the w:Eirdest `NOI[SE = i]ve ↓-Ever heard at?
02 JES                                     [ʔah ]
03 FIO ^sOUnds like an?- (0.36)
04 JES <<downst> `sOunds like it `swAllowed like a ~CHEW toy,> hh°
05 FIO `O::R erm:-
06      [a ~METronome:,]
07 JES [ʔh°a: ʔh°aʔh°a]
08 FIO sOunds li[ke an ElectrO]nic ~METronome,
09 JES      [oh `YE::AH; ]
10      (1.6)
11 FIO <<mod,low larynx,fauc,h>°hh `YO::UR uh (0.5) yOur per`FORmance;
12      its got a vEry wEird `TEMPO;>
13      ah [ `YES ]
14 JES      [aʔaʔaʔa]
15 FIO i `PLAY it to the: u::h-
16      [the: cLIcking sOund of a] ↑`COOT.
```

The next sections will show further examples of zero quotatives and discuss the other resources which, in isolation, or in combination with verbal quotatives, index the beginning or foreground the start of an animation.

4.3.2 Shifts in verbal and/or non-verbal design: concurrent indexing of animation and stance and conditional relevance

The challenge for speakers producing animations not introduced by quotatives is how to make these actually recognisable and hearable as animations. And even when quotatives are introduced, speakers should make the boundaries between the roles and voices hearable in some way, though these left or right limits are not always unambiguously signposted (Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999) nor do they necessarily temporally align with each other, with gestural shifts at times preceding all other forms (Mandel & Ehmer, 2019), and with prosodic features often fading away before the end of the verbal animation (Bolden, 2004).

This section will address the kinds of vocal and non-vocal resources that mark the shift into the animation space in the collection through complex interactions with each other, and these are to be found associated to animations that either have explicit verbal quotative prefaces, interacting with them, and those which do not, in which case clusters of these other resources are seen to be doing the contextualising work of marking the displacement and change of participation frameworks. As with the previous section, it is recognised that prior research on resources contextualising animation has shed some light on the role of different resources (Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Günthner, 1999; Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Lampert, 2013, 2018; Niemelä, 2010; Stec et al., 2015), which is why this section will only discuss the deployment of resources used by first animators that in the collection are found to be consequential for co-animation to happen.

Phonetic-prosodic and gestural-postural resources, as well as gaze behaviour, are seen to interact in meaningful ways in the concurrent management of the contextualisation of animation and of stance and conditional relevance. Prosodic shifts may be of

different kinds: changes from modal voice to other different articulatory settings, use of a wider, lower, or higher pitch or loudness span, use of stylised contours, changes to noticeably different vowel qualities, use of specific highly perceptually isochronous rhythmic patterns or rhythmic scansion (Günthner, 1997; Müller, 1991). Gestural shifts may involve disjunctive or abrupt hand gestures -some iconic-, co-speech beat gestures, movement of the limbs and head to and from held positions, facial expressions, and/or noticeable changes in posture, as well as shifting patterns in gaze direction away from and towards the co-participant.

In particular, the focus will be on how first animators balance their concurrent interactional duties of marking the animation as disjunctive from the here-and-now, which involves authorship and stance ascription to the animated figures versus those of the animator, and the indexing of the conditional relevance set up by the deployment of the animation. At the same time, and as described elsewhere (see for example, Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Günthner, 1997; Günthner, 1999; Niemelä, 2011) the prosodic or gestural design of an animation may not necessarily be part of the original design of the content animated. It may rather be part of the overlaying of a stance that the animator in the here-and-now is doing to provide their co-participant with access to this stance -apart from other uses, see Günthner (1999)- given that many of these animations happen at key moments in tellings or creative fictional productions where a matching stance of indignation, empathy, or laughter is made relevant. This is not a minor matter in this collection, given that co-animators are seen to successfully have picked up the right affective “tone” in their responsive animations. So the forms of vocal and bodily behaviour with which participants design their first animations concurrently manage the characterisation of the figure and the stance that is being projected onto the animated content and the wider activity.

4.3.2.1 Gesture and gaze: indexing shifts in voice and/or perspective

Role shifts (Stec et al., 2016), as they are called in signed languages, involve a number of markers, vocal and non-vocal. Perhaps the most obvious one is the change in reference of pronouns and demonstratives. As reviewed in Chapter 2, during animation, the origo or deictic anchoring of pronouns and demonstratives is not in the here-and-now of the interaction, which effects the change in participation frameworks from the here-and-now to the there-and-then of the animated content. The introduction of pronouns like "I/my" or "you/your" that are not to be ascribed to any of the participants in the here-and-now is another form of framing of the animation, and one that is integrated with prosodic and gestural resources, particularly (but not exclusively) when the quotative is missing.

Reference is unproblematically assigned by co-participants, in both first and second animations, that is, co-participants do not take any "you/your" to be addressed or referring to them, nor are they seen to ascribe all the "I/my" instances to the currently-speaking participant in the here-and-now, though they may be assigned to past versions of Self. Co-participants are not seen to initiate repair on pronoun reference but rather, keep the new participation frameworks during their co-animations, which offers further interactional evidence that the deictic shifts are smoothly managed by participants. So the most important piece of evidence that reference ascription has been successful is that co-participants do not treat the actions done *within* the animation as making a response relevant; instead, they orient to the conditional relevance of the action done *through* the introduction of the animation.

An important part of how this ascription is done successfully lies in **prosodic and gestural marking**. An example of such unproblematic reference and the interaction with gestural behaviour was shown in the "Ill" example earlier. Cassie is complaining about her partner, and introduces his voice with a telephone gesture from a

perspective that is ambiguous gesturally - it could either be an enactment of her listening to him talk on the other side of the line, or him on the other side of the line. In her introduction of the voice of her partner, Cassie does not employ a quotative, and yet her use of the first person singular pronoun in "I'm ill" is not taken by Leonie to be an announcement made about herself. The use of an iconic gesture, a right-hand Y-handshape acting as a telephone next to her head, in the upper periphery of the gesture space (McNeill, 1992), marks the shift into the animation space, and also anchoring the conversation to a probably recognisable origo, that of an earlier call that morning - though this could be an enactment of an iterative situation. The uttering of the words ascribed to Cassie's partner are also done with a facial expression that involves slanted eyes and frowning, and a later pressing and lowering of the sides of the lips. The combination of the iconic gesture and facial expression here does the contextualisation of the new voice brought to the here-and-now of the interaction, although as the time-aligned boxes below show (figure 4.6), they have a different temporality relative to the verbal material.

Example 4.11 MCY09PIN "Ill" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

35 LEO nO you ~DO::[NT,      ]
36 CAS *[((click))]?oh *im `I:LL; (0.3)
    cas *...RH up telephone gesture, frowns,,,>
        *lowers sides of lips-->

```

Gesture (RH Y-handshape; iconic of telephone)		
Facial expression (frowning, slanted eyes)		-->>
	Lowered sides of lips	-->>
Gaze aversion from Leo, looks down		-->>
	Verbal material	

Figure 4.6 Time-aligned representation of temporality of verbal and non-verbal resources in Cassie's first animation (line 36)

In the same way, later on, there is no orientation by Leonie that "I spoke to you" is done by the partner or by Cassie talking to Leonie. This shift in voice is done through the release of the telephone gesture, the laying of the palms facing upwards on her lap (the lower periphery of the gestural space), and a change in gaze direction towards the left where Leonie is, but not looking directly at her. There is also rhythmic scansion towards the end of her Self-animation. The release of the telephone gesture and gaze direction change mark then another role shift, but her beat gestures accompanying the words "ill" "yes", "get", appear to be (somehow iconically) contextualising the stance of irritation or annoyance.

Example 4.11 MCY09PIN "III" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

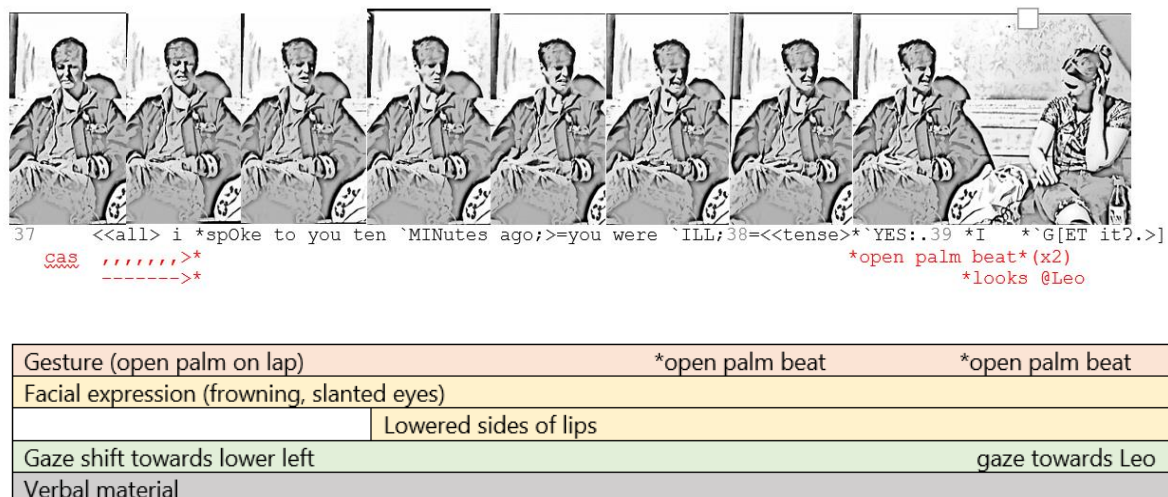


Figure 4.7 Time-aligned representation of the temporality of resources in Cassie's Self-animation (lines 37-39)

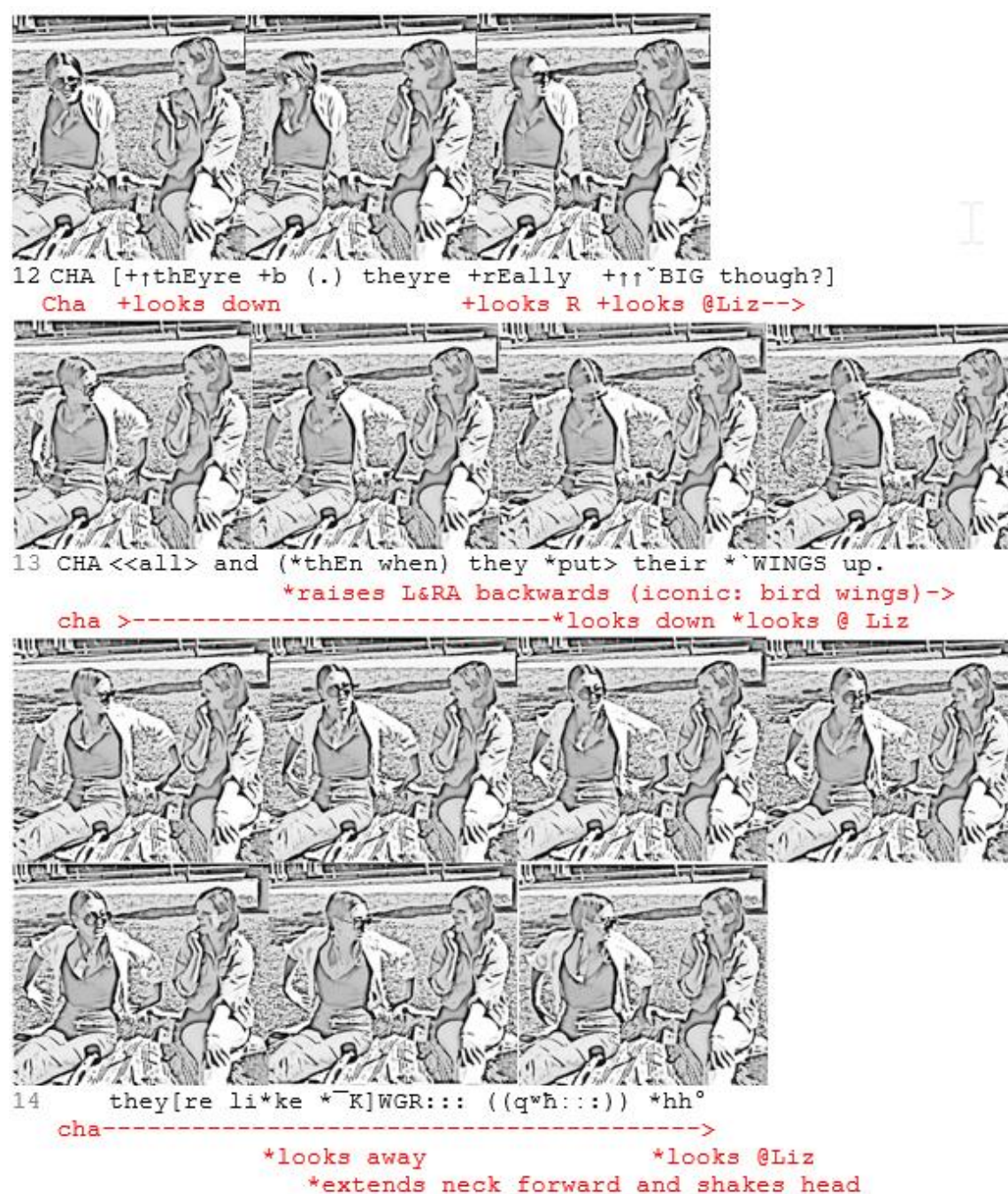
Another example appears below that illustrates how **iconic gestures** contribute to role shifts to make their representations more vivid and compelling for an affiliative response by providing **observer (O-VPT) and character viewpoint (C-VPT)** (McNeill, 1992) (re)enactments. Charlotte is retelling an attack by a black swan on campus, which both co-participants orient to as funny, through laughter (lines 7-11). Charlotte moves

on to a more serious account of swans being a threat (line 12), and makes an embodied demonstration (lines 13-14) accompanied by a description. At this moment in which her observer viewpoint is done through the verbal description, her enactment simultaneously embodies the character, exhibiting the duality that deixis *am phantasma* offers (Bühler, 1990; Stukenbrock, 2017). By the time Charlotte verbally moves from description to animation, introducing the voice of the swan through a vocalisation (line 14), her character viewpoint gesture has been held for 1.8 seconds.

Example 4.12 RCECIGARETTE "Steady" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

01 CHA they `sca:re me; = when they put their `wings up. (1.6)
02 you know that black `swan=
03 =that's ↓always over ~there,
04 [with the] red: (.) ~beak,
05 LIZ [`mhm;]
06 `yeah; (0.8)
07 CHA ↓really `chased me ↓last `year [h°uh°]
08 [nh°uh°]
09 CHA ?huh° °hh
10 LIZ ?hu?hu°
11 °hha
12 CHA theyre b (.) theyre really ~big though?
13 and (then when) they put their `wings up.
14 they[re like **k]wgr:: (([q°]h::))**

Example 4.12 RCE01CIGARETTE "Steady" (GAT2 Fine; MMT)



Gesture (arms back and raised, held)			
		Extends neck forwards and shakes head	
Gaze towards Liz	left and down	towards Liz	towards Liz
		Verbal material	

Figure 4.8 Time-aligned representation of Charlotte's description + animation (lines 12-14)

The examples above have also shown how gestural shifts tend to precede the verbal material of the animation, doing “forward-gesturing” (Streeck, 2009), and have variable temporal alignments with the right brackets of the animation. In the same way, **postural shifts** may foreground upcoming animation. In this case, Jon is describing a severe back pain he developed while working on designing a stage at drama camp. Before he animates his request of painkillers and exercises to the nurse (line 70-72), he changes posture, moving forward and adopting a stiff and straight back posture (lines 67-74), only released as the animation comes to an end.

Example 4.13 MCY02BAR “Cause I’m dying” (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

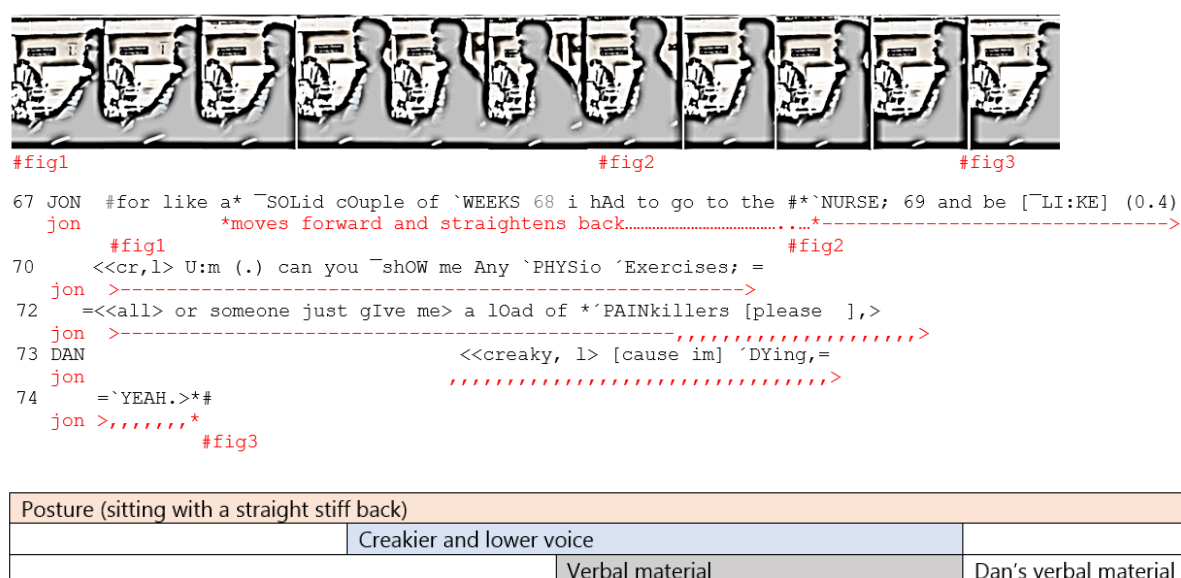


Figure 4.9 Time-aligned representation of resources in Jon's animation (lines 67-72)

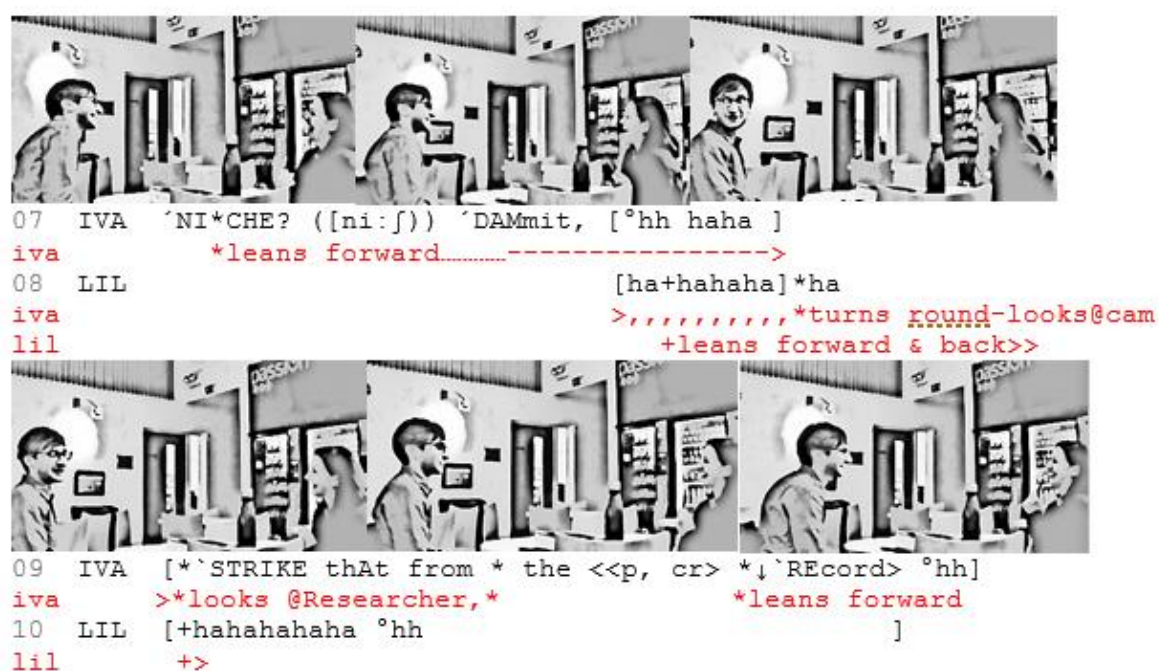
A whole-body shift involving the waist and neck, or body torque (Schegloff, 1998) indexes more clearly the changes in participation frameworks that animation entails, and thus, an entry into the animated space. In this example, Ivan is being mocked by Lila for having mispronounced the word “niche”, which leads Ivan to expand the current participation frameworks by initiating a self-tease that begins with addressing

the researcher and looking towards the area where she was sitting, away from the camera.

Example 4.14 MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

05 IVA what `is it.
06 LIL ^ni:che. ((ni:f))
07 IVA `niche? ((ni:f)) =`da:mmit,[°hh haha]
08 LIL [hahahahaha]
09 IVA [**`strike that from the ↓`record.** °hh]
10 LIL [hahahahaha °hh]

Example 4.14 MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



	Torques body (waist and neck) towards his back right	
Gazes at Lil	towards camera	towards researcher towards Lila -->>
		Creaky and piano
	Verbal material	

Figure 4.10 Time-aligned representation of resources in Ivan's animation (lines 8-10)

The prior examples have also alluded to another flag of animation, but one which co-participants are seen to rely on and which operates more systematically at the right boundary of the animation: **gaze**. It has been widely studied that animations are most frequently produced with **temporary gaze aversion** from the co-participant (Sidnell, 2006; Stec et al., 2015; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014). The fixation of gaze onto another point away from the here-and-now of the interaction is indexical, in that the attention is placed on an alternative space, and the absent parties addressed are located in that space which is for both co-participants to see. In this sense, and shown in Streeck (1993; also in Stukenbrock, 2014), gaze direction is also a form of inviting joint attention towards an imagined space or re-enacted activity, in much the same way as objects may be pointed at, which is why this gaze shift activity also supports the role of animation as an “interactional object” that is detached from the current moment, and can thus, be manipulated. It is also these gaze shifts, apart from the body torque and postural shifts described earlier, that index the change of participation frameworks to incorporate absent parties that are part of the animated interaction of the there-and-then.

It is most frequently the case in the collection that animations are produced with disengaged gaze direction, with the first animator looking away from the co-participant and returning their gaze to them towards/at the end of the first animation, sometimes accompanied with a leaning forward movement. This is highly contingent on the way the co-participants are sitting, as this configuration may be less frequent in cases where participants are facing each other. It is believed that analysing those cases where participants have to make a greater embodied effort to reach mutual gaze shows how it is deployed to index juncture moments and mobilize responses (Iwasaki, 2009; Lerner, 2003; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014).

Another example of gaze aversion during the animation appears below. Laura is telling Becky about an activity she designed for her English class, on vocabulary for giving directions. In her story recipient role, Becky reciprocates gaze, and this is only temporarily changed as she shifts away to introduce the quote - perhaps doing being the students, in an absurd way, attempting to describe the journey applying the vocabulary learned- and then reciprocating gaze again after the animation has been produced, what will become a co-animation seconds later.

Example 4.15 MCY03SPIDER "Bear right" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)


```

127 LAU    someone had ˈdra:wn (1.2)
128        ((click)) ˈa: (0.7) it was (1.0)
129        ((click)) (.) ˈa::rgh = not a ˈmap but; ˈu:h (0.57)
130        a:: ˈroute; (1.3)
131        ((click)) from: ˈu:h shanˈghai,
132        to the u:ˈka:y-
133        to the uniˈver[sity,=          ]
134 BEC          [(x x) ↑ˈbear]
135          [ˈleft. °hh hihi xh°ihi hh°]
136 LAU    [=sort of the different          ] ↑ˈstages of the ˈjourney;
137          °hh hh° [↑ˈbe(h°)ar hh°]
138          [hihihi hi          ]
139 BEC    hahaha °hh
140 LAU    ˈbear ˈright. [to ↑ˈduˈba:i; h°          ]
141 BEC          [bear ˈright. =ˈyeah.]

```

Example 4.15 MCY03SPIDER "Bear right" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

131 LAU ((click)) frOm: ˈU:H <<p> shAnˈGHAI,
 132 to the U: ˈKA:Y-



133 LAU to +the Uni*ˈVER[sity, >=]
 134 BEC [(x x) <<mod> ˈbEAr]
 bec +opens mouth +looks away----->
 lau *RH pointing down
 135 [ˈLEFT. + ˈhh hihi xhˈihi hhˈ]
 bec >-----+looks @Lau
 136 LAU [= <<all> sort of the dIfferent>] ˈstAges of the ˈJOURNey;

Opens mouth		smiles
Gazes at Lau	Gazes away	Gazes at Lau
	Verbal material	

Figure 4.11 Time-aligned representation of resources in Becky's animation (lines 133-135)

Therefore, the separation between the spaces and the indexing of places for involvement back in the here-and-now are contextualised through these meaningful gaze shifts. Once the animation comes to an end, or even as it is being completed and a transition-relevance place is projected, a returned gaze towards a co-participant activates the conditional-relevance of a responsive action, as the prior cases have shown.

This section has focused on the marking of role shift, the entry into the animation space that indexes a change in participation frameworks and the introduction of voices of absent or displaced parties. Hand gestures, particularly iconic, postural shifts and complex gaze patterns appear to be the most noticeable embodied forms of contextualisation and foregrounding of a first animation.

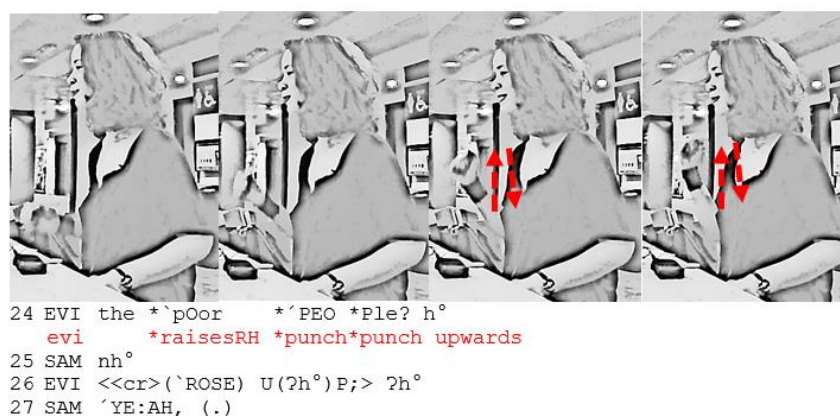
4.3.2.2. Prosody, gesture, and the indexing of stance

It is not easy for the analyst to establish in each case whether the vocal and non-vocal resources, and in particular, which parameters, contribute solely to the contextualization of an animation as such, or to the overlaid stance and action done in the current activity in the here-and-now. Participants seem to successfully ascribe the deployment of these resources to each of these concurrent interactional functions, and as it was mentioned earlier, many of the resources used orient to these dual purposes (e.g. the beat gestures in Cassie's animated complaint in "Ill"). The selection of features discussed in this subsection reveals uses of prosody and gesture that apart from indexing the shift into the animation space, also do stance contextualisation work that will later be seen to be taken up by co-participants in responsive co-animations.

Some of the examples in the prior section showed how shifts in posture foregrounded animation and indexed changes in participation frameworks. A gestural-postural configuration that appears very frequently in the collection involves **swinging body movements**, and these are attached to instances of Self-mockery, or the (often humorous) criticism of Other parties.

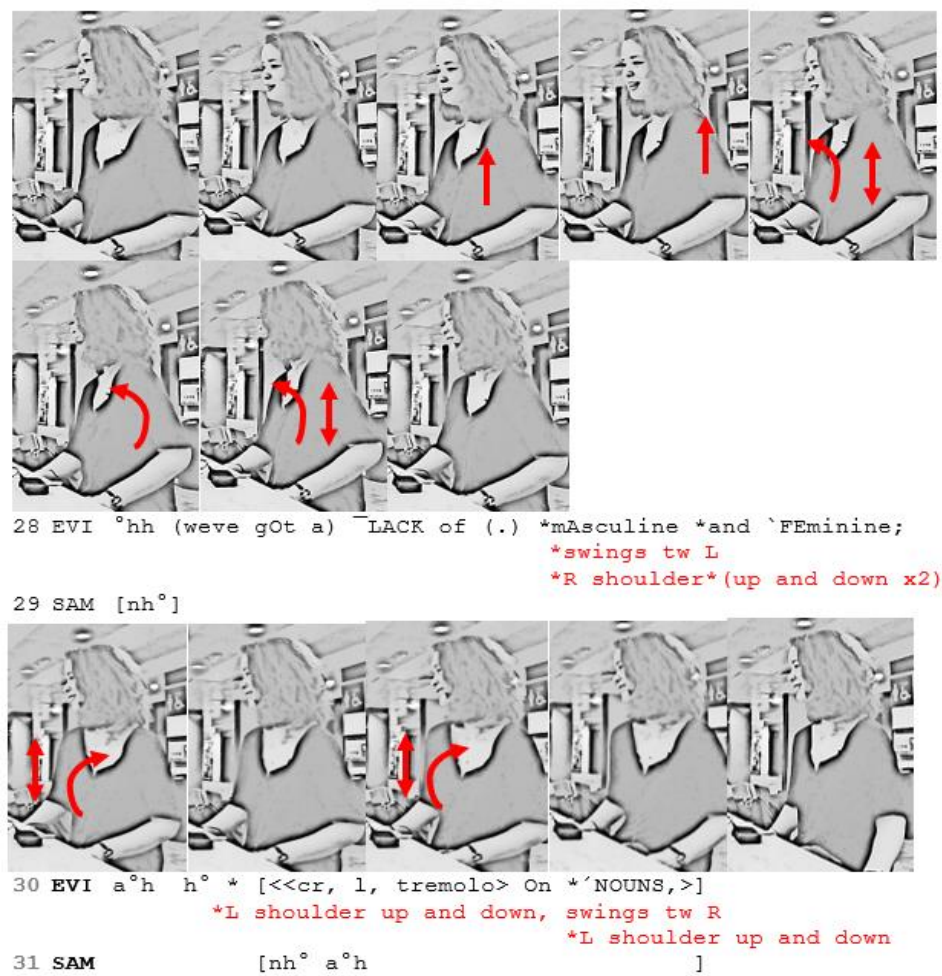
In this example, Evie and Sam are discussing the fact that French could have been the official language of Britain, as during Norman times it was spoken by the Royals. They move on to discuss how the poorer classes kept to English, which is humorously treated as a form of "rebellion". This stance is described as "rising up", and accompanied with an iconic gesture, a raised fist that foregrounds the perspective of the voices that will be subsequently animated, as well as with a smile that will be kept throughout the animation later.

Example 4.16 MCY20MUG "Table" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



The “poor people” get animated rebelling, providing an absurd reading of “rising up”, in that they are presented as rejecting gender-marking, that is absent in English. The animation is done with a combination of a right-to-left swinging movements involving head tilts and shoulder-raising, reminiscent of a mocking attitude of derision. The onset of these movements is, however, well into the verbal animated content:

Example 4.16 MCY20MUG "Table" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Gesture (fist going up twice)	Raises left shoulder swings left raises right shoulder swings right			
Smile				
Gazes towards Sam	looks left	looks right	towards Sam	
	Verbal material			

Figure 4.12 Time-aligned resources in Evie's animation (lines 28-30)

Another example of mockery of third person that involves criticism in this case happens in this conversation between Casey, Priscilla, and James, who are planning a choir concert and are seeking to reduce costs by avoiding the hiring of extra equipment. As they discuss the characteristics of what should make an appropriate host with a “well projected voice” (lines 6-11), James introduces a humorous comment on the possibility

of being charged for using the microphone (lines 14 and 16), which Casey turns into an enactment of the complained-about parties, those in charge of the concert hall (line 18):

Example 4.17 MCY08SUNGLASSES "Sound system" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

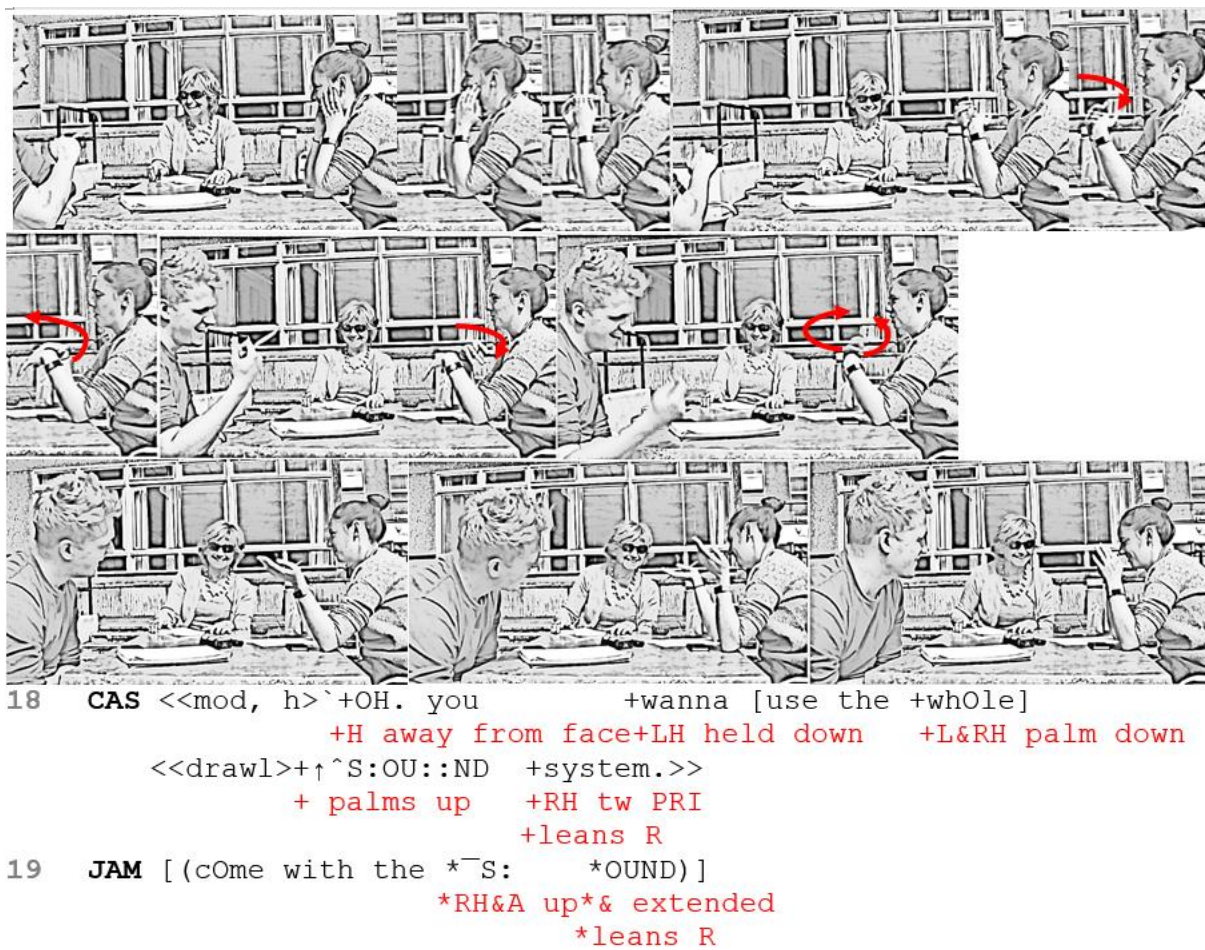
```

02 PRI i think the `acou::stics in the [jack ˈlyons]=
03 CAS                                     [ˈye::ah;    ]
04 PRI =[it should be sUch (that/a xx)                ]
05 CAS [it `should be `fi::ne; = `shou:ldnt it;]
06 JAM find someone with a `decen:t;
07 PRI pe:ople [who have ˈgot a?] = [a sort of] public speaking
08 CAS          [ˈyea::h;                ]
09 JAM                                     [ˈdecen:t;]
10 PRI [ˈvoice.                ]
11 JAM [ˈwell project]ed ˈvoice
12     [yeah because im ˈsure]
13 PRI [ˈshould be ˈfi::ne,  ]
14 JAM therell be another `cost on [top of that;                ]=
15 CAS                                     [ˈyea::h. i ˈkno::w.]
16 JAM =for u[sing a/your) mi]crophh°one [hahahaha]
17 PRI          [er::m                ]          [hahahaha]
18 CAS `oh. you wanna [use the whole                ] ˈs:ou::nd ˈsystem,
19 JAM                [(come with the ˈsound)]
20     ↓ˈo::h. [ you gotta have a ˈs:ou]nd technician,
21 CAS          [(hm i dunno)                ]
22 JAM and ˈpay [his sou::(h°)n(h°), haha]
23 CAS          [ˈyea::h.                ]

```

Casey turns to a swinging movement involving her torso but mostly her neck and head, accompanied with hands swirling up and down. She produces this with a modalised voice quality, higher in her range, with a certain drawl.

Example 4.17 MCY08SUNGLASSES "Sound System" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Separates hands from face	Swings right	swings left	
	Swirls hands	palms down	palms up
	Higher pitched, slightly compressed voice quality		drawl
Gazes forward	towards Pri		
	Verbal material		

Figure 4.13 Time-aligned representation of resources in Casey's animation (line 18)

These examples introduced not just then postural changes but also shifts in **articulatory and phonatory settings**. Some participants provide marked shifts in their laryngeal or supra-laryngeal settings. Animated content may start and/or be sustained with qualities that are generally falsetto, or creakier or breathier than the same participant’s pre-animation modal voice quality. Participants may also alter articulatory settings in their pharyngeal or oral cavity, thus producing a markedly different form of

resonance, which is also visible through changes to the positioning of the head and neck (lowering or raising) and lip position.

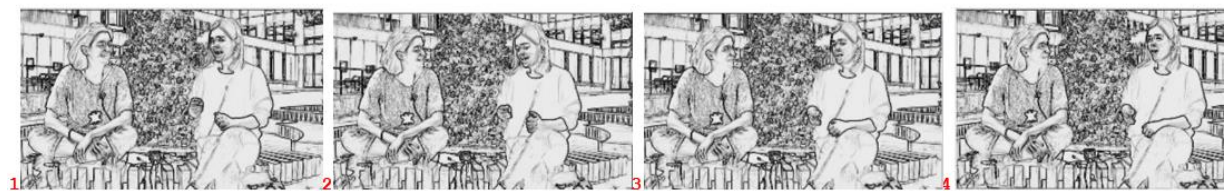
In studies of reported speech, voice quality has often been associated with the representation of absent parties that are often caricaturised. A noticeable change in voice quality away from modal voice is, however, not as frequent a resource as one would expect in this collection of animation. This could be due to the fact that a large number of animations are of the voice of Self/A (see section 5.3.2) reporting past words or thoughts, and these are more often than not introduced via verbal quotatives. It becomes relevant to our study of co-animation how these changes in articulatory settings in this collection are more marked in animations of Self when participants are seen to be mocking themselves in prior situations or creating fictional versions of Self. This is a form of Self-othering, in a way, establishing distance with prior or imaginary versions of Self, and it often stands in contrast with a moral state of affairs. It is this playful and humorous representation of Self coming first just before turn-transition that warrants a secure space for B to continue this humorous animation of A in a way that may be relationally safer.

The following examples show these changes in articulatory settings that can be heard and visibly traced in the speaker's face, head, and/or neck, and which, in turn, evidence these forms of distancing from an interactionally-created figure of Self. These voice quality shifts are combined with other previously-described features, such as a swinging movement of the body and shoulders.

Laura and Becky are discussing waterfowl excrement, and Becky brings up the latest episode of Planet Earth, where the topic was featured. Laura animates herself doing what she did not (presumably) do when watching Planet Earth with her friends: brag about having witnessed in real life what was displayed in the episode, which was high

amounts of birds dropping their excrement. Her voice doing the transgressable (see Chapter 6) is done with some degree of lip rounding and compression, and her lowering of the larynx can be visibly traced, with some of the features of this kind of setting matching the description in the literature: her chin is "tucked in" with a "slight rotation downwards of head" (Laver 2009/1980:31).

Example 4.18 MCY03SPIDER "Planet Earth" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

09 LAU <<all>*yeah i was> ^WATCHing i?;= 10=and i was +trYing really *`HARD;
    bec                                     +looks @Lau
    lau          *looks away                *looks down
                #fig1                      #fig2
11      =<<all, l> cause i was just. with *`FRIENDS;* = 12 =<<all,l>*↓ NOT to (just `gO:);>>
    lau                                     *closes eyes      *opens eyes
                                     *looks up      *straightens up body
                                     #fig3          #fig4

```

[illegible]

Sits straighter	Swings shoulder neck and head right	swings left	swings right
	Lowered larynx, rounded lips		
Gazes down	gazes up & away		gazes at Bec
	Verbal material		

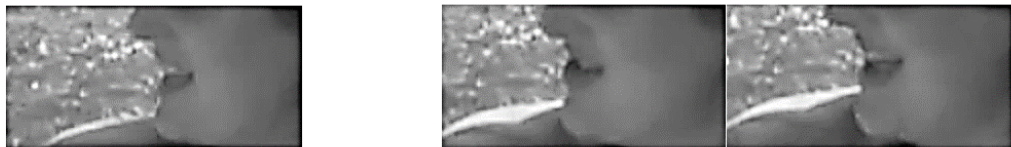
Figure 4.14 Time-aligned resources in Laura's Self-animation in lines (09-15)

Similarly, this next case shows Liz animating herself doing what she thought it would have been cheeky to do in a barbecue she attended, whose host she had never met before. Liz starts a fictional list of requests of leftovers she would take home with her with a voice that is produced with the lower jaw slightly protruded and greater tension in the vocal tract, and possibly with an advanced tongue tip in an alveolarised voice that also exhibits higher pitch.

Example 4.19 RCECIGARETTE "Got a plate?" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

20 LIZ and `ALso; = i Already fElT really CHEEKy`
21 cause i didm (.) really ´KNOW her,=
22 and I(ve) júst turned UP and (been/being) `FED.
23 rEally really ´WELL?
24 <<p> and ↓drAnk some ´Alcohol?>
25 and it was All r:e:ally ↑´NICE [<<all>but i was] like>
26 CHA [mh°]
27 LIZ am i tAKing the `PISS if i tAKE?;
28 if im like <<mod, adv tongue, tense artic>↑-OO::H `YES i ll;
29 [i ll take some] `LAMBchops <<adv jaw>for nExt ~SUNda:y?>
30 CHA [i ll take it]
31 LIZ and i ll
32 haha <<l> ↓some sAusages on ´THURSDay,>>
33 (1.1)

Example 4.19 RCECIGARETTE "Got a plate?" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; aligned mouth and jaw captures)



29 LIZ [i ll take some] `LAMB chops <<adv jaw>for nExt ~SUNda:y?>

As with other cases, these initial articulatory settings are not kept steady throughout, with the alveolarisation and jaw advancement receding, but the higher pitch

remaining, though decreasing in height and volume for subsequent elements of the list, as figure 4.15 below shows.

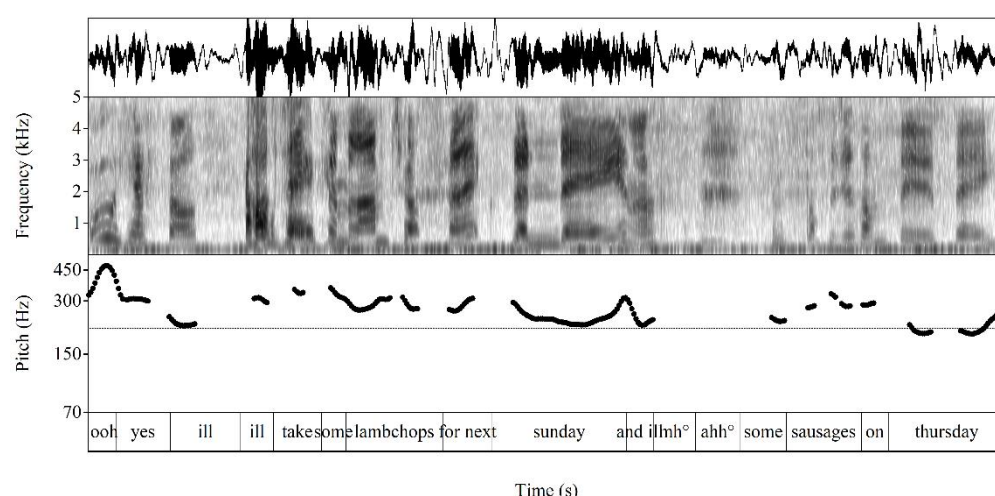


Figure 4.15 Waveform, spectrogram, and f0 trace (in Hz log) of Liz's lines 29-31.

As in this case, most cases of marked shifts in articulatory settings are not consistently sustained till the end of the animation though, an observation that supports the view that the left boundary of an animation seems to require a clearer contextualisation than the right boundary, as once the animation has been recognised as such by the co-participant the priority becomes the recognition of stance and conditional relevance.

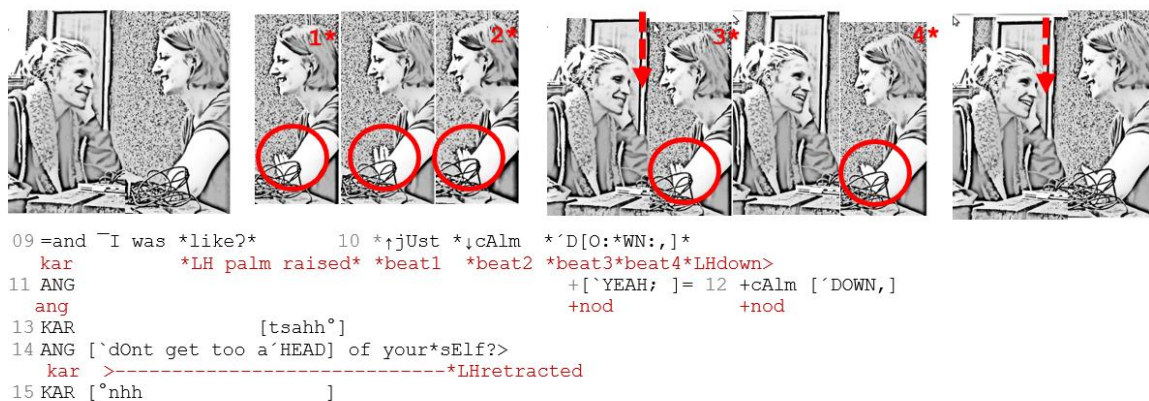
A final resource for the marking of stance to contribute to the recognition of conditional relevance and projected responsive stance is **rhythm**. The shift to an isochronous rhythmic pattern and its frequent interplay with beat gestures in the collection works both retrospectively, by marking the animation as separate from prior talk, and as will be explained in Chapter 5, prospectively, as its pattern of projectability works like a metronome for the co-participant to time their incoming at "opportunity spaces". It is the presence of these rhythmic templates of equal interval but with a high condensation of close accents (rhythmic scansion, Günthner, 1999; Müller, 1991) that

contribute to the marking of particular stances. Whereas voice quality shifts were more frequently found in mocking episodes, these dense combinations of close accents are found when participants animate displaced forms of Self when displaying criticism or annoyance as a response to a complainable. This was the case in the "Ill" example above, with Cassie producing her palm-up beat gestures, and is clear below, as Karen animates her response to her mother's animated display of excitement (line 8) at her plan of moving together with her boyfriend (line 10). Her accented "just", "calm", "down", are accompanied with palm down beat gestures, and are oriented to by Angie, who nods along to the last beat, and to her own on-beat contribution (lines 12-14).

Example 4.20 MCY07BOTTLE "Calm down" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```
01 KAR <<sty, fals, :-)> ↑↑~BUT ↓~YEAH- hh°
02     we ll `SEE how it gOes;
03     <<all> like i was tAlking to> my ~PArnts,
04     my uh? (0.3) <<l, cr> mUms are `mUms. = ↓~AREnt they,>
05     and ↑[~SHE] was uh° (0.3)
06 ANG     [~HM ]
07 KAR gEtting ↑all ex`Cited about the idEa that <<br,p> °h lih°ke>
08     °ah <<mod,h> we ll be ↑sEttling ^DOWN to-gEther>=
09     =<<l>and ~I was like? >
10     ↑jUst ↓cAlm ~D[O:WN:,]
11                                     [~YEAH;]
12 ANG <<cr, l>cAlm [~DOWN,]
13 KAR                                     [tsahh°]
14 ANG [~dOnt get too a~HEAD] of your sElf?>
15 KAR [~nhh                                     ]
16     e`XACT[ly; ]
17     [~MM.]
```

Example 4.20 MCY07BOTTLE "Calm down" (continued, GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Angie introduces her co-animated response on beat, and continues with a rhythmic template relatively temporally similar to Karen's first animation, as the measured intervals between beats in figure 4.16 below shows:

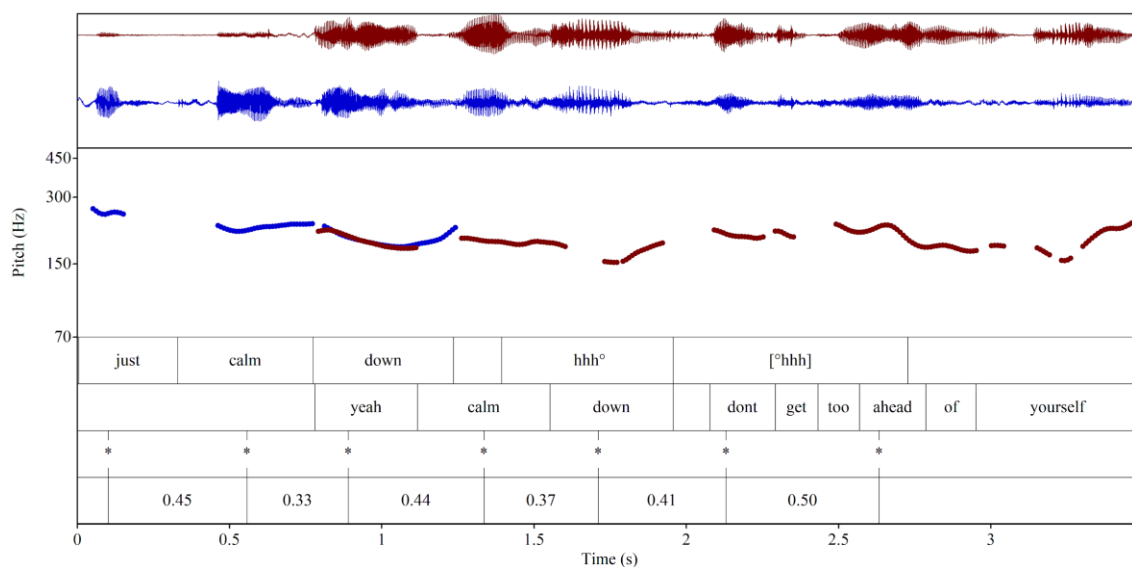


Figure 4.16 Waveform, f0 trace (Hz log), and rhythmic beats with measured intervals of co-animated sequence (lines 9-14)

As the previous exploration of verbal and non-verbal resources has shown, lexical forms of prefacing first animations are not necessarily more frequent over other modalities, and they interact with these other resources in meaningful ways. Vocal and gestural resources are seen to contextualise the shift into the animation space while simultaneously contributing to the display of stance towards the animated content,

providing access to co-participants to what would make a fitted response, and one that would mobilise the “right” kind of affective display.

4.3.3 Animated content and action: figures and activities

The prior sections described the design of first animations in the light of how they mark a shift in time, place, and role through quotative prefaces, gaze direction, and deictic shifts, as well as through marked prosodic and gestural changes on occasion, particularly in the animation of alternative versions of Self, or the animation of Another. It was anticipated in section 4.2 that animators do not only mark a transition into the animation space, but they also are seen to be carrying out certain courses of action and making certain next actions relevant through their animations. In this respect, it was shown how resources such as prosody, facial expression, or gestures could index a particular stance in the here-and-now onto the animated content.

A greater part of how these concurrent actions are done and signposted lies on the *animated content proper* that first animators bring to the here-and-now, and that co-animators will be orienting to, in particular: whose voices are animated, what the relation of animated content to reality is, and in what activities these animations are embedded.

This section will explore some of the ways in which animating certain figures in these activities is seen to be carrying out specific actions in the here-and-now, and simultaneously making certain next actions relevant, to pave the way for the discussion of what the *co-animation* of these voices orients to and achieves, the topic of the next three chapters. In keeping with the focus on participant problems, the next sections will also anticipate potential issues around epistemic differentials and morality that co-participants may need to manage when responding with a co-animation.

4.3.2.1 *Social activities, animation, and reality*

The collection shows tendencies around both the activities where co-animation occurs, and the figures that are animated: in terms of activities, co-animation happens in very specific types where past or iterative events or behaviours are presented as troublesome or sanctionable (the focus of Chapter 6), or in the creation of fictions incorporating “extraordinary” issues of the here-and-now that are used for teasing, or for shared play (as analysed in Chapter 7). The distribution of cases in terms of the types of activities in which animation and co-animation are deployed is schematised below (fig. 4.17):

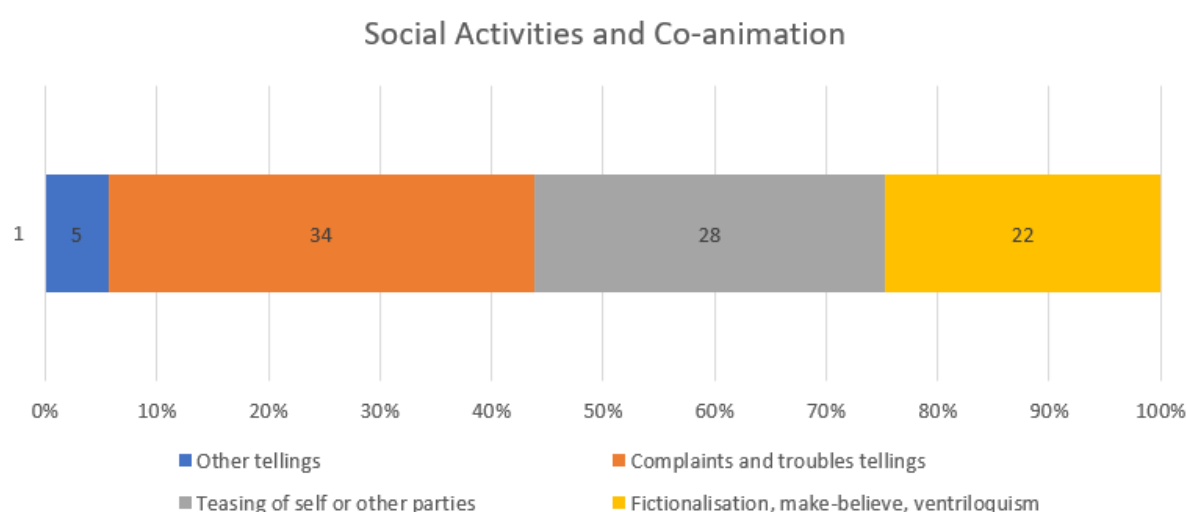


Figure 4.17 Distribution of co-animations in social activities

The social actions effected through animation fully depend on the kinds of ongoing interactional activity (Clift, 2007; Couper-Kuhlen, 2007; Golato, 2002). Animated content is presented as a re-enactment of a real past event, a(n)(re)enactment of a habitual behaviour, a projection of a future event, or a fictional/hypothetical/alternative situation, scenarios described in several pieces of work on reported speech.

This relation between the animation and reality is also relevant in terms of epistemic access and entitlement, with first animators often being K+ and using animation to enact this congruent epistemic stance in activities such as tellings, whereas more symmetrical epistemic statuses can be seen in activities that involve the creation of fiction and shared play.

As Chapter 6 will explore, in the **telling of troubles and complaint stories**, first animations are generally placed around climactic points (Günthner, 1997), providing co-participants with evidence (Clift, 2006, 2007) of sanctionable or troublesome experiences in the form of a lively and immediate enactment of a certain behaviour or event, thus doing characterisation work and facilitating the recipient's empathetic insertion (Goffman, 1974), while also granting access to the teller's projected stance. Through the animation, both an affective positioning and a particular type of affiliative response are made relevant (Günthner, 1997; Niemelä, 2011), either by animating the voice of aggrieving parties (Another), and/or by invariably voicing A's own reaction or thought in the there-and-then as a result of the event/troubles/offence experienced by them.

In this previously-introduced example, Karen is telling Angie about her Mum's enthusiastic reaction to the news that Karen's long-distance boyfriend might be moving continents to live with her. The voice of the mother (line 8) is animated in a mixed way, with the framing of indirect speech but with prosodic stylisation and breathy voice, and Karen's own displaced voice as a response to the mother's reaction is animated in line 10. Angie adopts Karen's displaced voice and continues the animation (lines 12, 14), furthering the stance projected:

Example 4.21 MCY07BOTTLE "Calm down" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

01 KAR <<:-) >↑↑¯but ↓¯yeah- > hh°
02 we ll `see how it goes;
03 like i was talking to my `parents,
04 my uh? (0.3) mums are `mums. = ↓´arent they,>
05 and ↑[¯she] was uh° (0.3)
06 ANG [¯hm]
07 KAR getting ↑all ex`cited about the idea that °h lih°ke>
08 °ah we ll be ↑settling ^down to-gether=
09 =and ¯i was like?
10 ↑**just** ↓**calm** ´d[o:wn:],]
11 ANG [¯yeah;]
12 **calm** [´down,]
13 KAR [tsahh°]
14 ANG [¯**dont get too a´head**] **of your self?**
15 KAR [°nhh]
16 e`xact[ly;]

Whereas complaints and storytelling seem to anchor their animations on a generally recognisable “there-and-then” or a generic/iterative one, fictionalisations and teasing on the other hand (see Chapter 7) seem to create alternative “here-and-nows”, generating interactions within interactions in a parallel present moment that stands in some form of contrast or commentary with the real present moment.

The **joint involvement in fantasy** often involves the interactional creation of fictional “personas” or versions of Self. It may also involve an impersonation of objects or people (voice of “Another”) bringing about the creation of these shared fantasies. Unlike tellings and complaints, these activities show the negotiation of a more horizontal epistemic status that may also contribute to the display of co-ownership of the animated experience, and unlike tellings in general, they are longer than the usual forms of “conditional entry” (Lerner, 1996b), becoming extended sequences of co-animation with with co-participants upgrading the levels of humour or ridicule of prior creations (Kotthoff, 1999).

This can be seen in the case introduced earlier in this chapter, showing Fiona and Jesse discussing a coot producing a strange noise, which prompts Fiona to start a fictitious scenario in which the noise becomes a guide for her musical performance (lines 11-13, 15). Jesse joins in the fantasy by specifying further how the coot contributes to the performance (lines 19-20, 22; see Chapter 7 for a full analysis of this case).

Example 4.22 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

01 FIO ↑thats the w:eirdest `noi[se = i]ve ↓-ever heard at?
 02 JES [ʔah]
 03 FIO ^sounds like an?- (0.36)
 04 JES `sounds like it `swallowed like a `chew toy, hh°
 05 FIO `o::r erm:-
 06 a `metronome:,
 07 JES ʔh°a: ʔh°aʔh°a
 08 FIO `sounds li[ke an elec`tro]nic `metronome,
 09 JES [oh `ye::ah;]
 10 (1.6)
 11 FIO °hh `yo::ur uh (0.5) **your per`formance;**
 12 **its got a very weird `tempo;**
 13 **ah [`yes]**
 14 JES [aʔaʔaʔa]
 15 FIO i `play it to the:; u::h
 16 **[the: `clicking `sound of a] ↑`coot.**
 17 JES [ʔh°a (i j)]
 18 FIO ʔhuh huh huh °hh ʔhuh
 19 JES °hh `I **just;** (.)
 20 ↑`**hit it.** [haha]
 21 FIO [ʔh°aʔhaʔhaʔhaʔhah]
 22 JES [huhuh `roughly in ´ti:(h°):me? haha]
 23 FIO [°ahh hah° ʔahh°]
 24 ʔa°hhh a::h
 25 ¯er::m (1.0) `yeah.

The other related activity that frequently involves co-animation is **teasing**. Teasing episodes generally provide versions of prior turns or behaviours as forms of ridicule, providing a form of meta-comment on them while orienting to morality issues that may be at stake. It is often the case that A initiates the mocking, starting a form of self-repair delivered with laughter, and by A self-teasing, B has a safe space to join in and make their own independent and upgraded contributions to this animation, which becomes a playful joint object, turning the laughing at into laughing with.

In this example, Laura has been discussing her lessons as a teacher trainee and presented her worries around one of her peers, whose misguided lack of confidence about her level of English has created some problems in their shared class (lines 39-47). Becky comforts Laura (line 50) and Laura introduces a concession that appears to have intended to present her peer in a more positive light, an assessment that is misformulated (line 52). Becky's partial other-repetition (line 53) initiates repair, with Laura repeating her previous formulation initiating self teasing (lines 54-55), with Becky providing an alternative version, a reformulation that upgrades the level of ridicule (line 56-57, 59), before exiting the playfulness and mocking space by re-initiating repair with a question requesting clarification (line 63).

Example 4.23 MCY03SPIDER "Good thinker" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
39 LAU [ˈbut>] (1.3)
40     its really her level of `english;=
41     =she shouldnt `worry about;
42     ↓so `much. (0.6)
43     ↓i think it just im^pe:des the lesson;=
44     = more than anything `else?=
45 BEC [ˈm:↓-m:]
46 LAU =[if      ] shes (the one) ´worrying?
47     (poor girl/there we go) (1.3)
48 BEC [(↑m_´hm,)  ]
49 LAU [ˈbless her,] (0.8)
```

50 BEC shell be all `all will be all [‘right,]
51 LAU [hahaha] `yeah.
52 ↑shes very good a? i`deas actually;
53 BEC i↑`deas;
54 LAU ((lip smack)) ahh° f:° i[~]d(h°)eas
55 shes ↑`good [at i`deas.] =[that’s ?]
56 BEC [↑shEs>] [shes]
57 [↑goo:d `think] er. (0.3)
58 LAU [o´k(h°)ay?]
59 BEC [[~]good `thoughts] in ´there,
60 LAU [m↓m↓↑m;] °hhh ah°
61 °hh
62 hah°
63 BEC [just -like for the `lesson plans,]
64 LAU [(shell/shed) be really `quiet.]=
65 =yeah

4.3.2.2 *Animated figures and activities*

The figures animated are voices ascribable either to Self/A, Other/B, or to one or more Another/X. The distribution of the voices animated in the collection, as part of animated dialogue or as a single voice addressing an absent and unanimated third party -as defined by the voices animated in the first animation-, appears in figure 4.18 below.

Voices (co-)animated in the collection

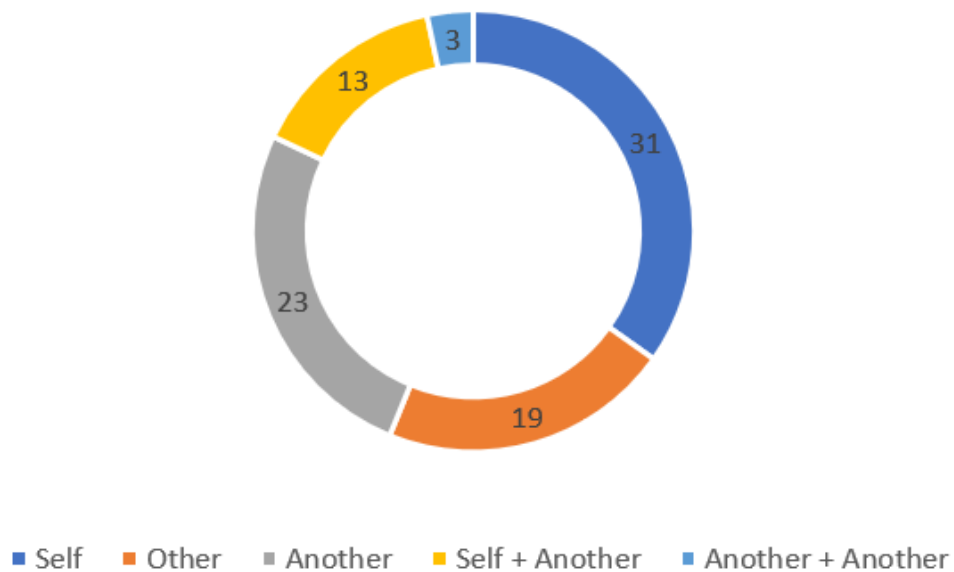


Figure 4.18 Distribution of animated voices in the collection

There are different affordances, particularly around epistemic entitlement, ownership, and relational issues, in providing a first animation of Self, Other, or Another, and particularly, of continuing such animation, and the next section will explore how the frequency differences above may be related to these “interactional risks”.

Animating the voice of Self

In the collection, Self-animation is the most frequent practice.. A first animator is found to be producing a voice whose actions, thoughts, and views are ascribable to themselves in a past, habitual, or fictional time and place. The variety of activities in which Self is seen to animate themselves makes for the versatility of Self-animation for the carrying out of different actions described in prior interactional work (Clift, 2006, 2007; Couper-Kuhlen, 2007; Golato, 2002; Haakana, 2007), such as accounting, reporting past decisions, voicing thoughts assessing past events.

Because Self is seen to present their voice as an animation, and thus, as displaced from the here-and-now, the animation becomes an interactional object that can be heard as *detached* from the producer, and done in a non-serious way. In a way, Self-animating is a way of doing Self-Othering. Evidence for this lies in the voice quality changes and laughter particles found in animations for self-mockery (see section 4.3.2.2 above, and Chapter 7), for instance, where Self is found to laugh at a prior production (see “Thoughts” above), at the sanctionable actions they could have potentially done but did not, or at an imaginary version of themselves in a fictional scenario (see 4.24 below). It is this possibility for detachment and non-seriousness that animation offers that may be responsible for the lack of sanctioning towards co-animating Others. The example below shows a Self-animation in a counterfactual situation, with Liz animating herself as a cheeky guest (lines 28-29, 31):

Example 4.24 RCECIGARETTE "Got a plate?" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

20 LIZ and `also; = i already felt really `cheeky.
21 cause i didm (.) really `know her,=
22 and i(ve) just turned up and (been/being) `fed.
23 really really `well?
24 and ↓drank some `alcohol?
25 and it was all r:e:ally ↑`nice [but i was] like
26 CHA [mh°]
27 LIZ am i taking the `piss if i take;
28 if im like <<mod> ↑**oo::h `yes ill;**
29 **[ill take some] `lamb chops for next ~sunda:y? =and ill**
30 CHA [ill take it]
31 LIZ haha ↓**some sausages on `thursday,**
32 (1.06)

Animating Self indexes epistemic priority and entitlement to voice one's own views and experiences, the right to "speak on your behalf" (Lerner, 1996a; Sacks, 1984b),

which, in turn, implies a right to represent their own identities in their own chosen way. Moreover, since all animations are selective, Self enjoys a greater licence in animating themselves, in that they have access not just to the words they remember/claim to remember producing, but also, to their thoughts, and choosing to animate one over the other may be consequential for the activity and for potential co-animators.

Potential co-animators (Other) are faced with some relational challenges when it comes to "doing being" their interlocutors. Speaking on behalf of others could be a way of intruding into others' "territorial preserves" (Goffman, 1971; Heritage & Raymond, 2005), the "territories of feelings, knowledge, and ownership" (Raymond & Heritage, 2006:701). What is more, given that most cases are prefaced with "be like", it is in most cases ambiguous whether the reported content is speech or thought. This makes for a interactional risk for co-animators, who may be found to be speaking not only on Self's behalf, but venturing into a reconstruction of Self's thoughts in a different space and time that Other has not been or witnessed, as is the case in the vast majority of cases of troubles/complaint stories in this collection. The reliance on common and interactionally built epistemic ground for Other to "get it right" appears to be of paramount importance to participants here as is probably the use of the ambiguous "be like" over "say" or "think". Moreover, the fact that co-animated turns are rarely repaired or sanctioned also reveals the primacy of affiliation matters over any issues of "accuracy" or "authenticity" and even of entitlement, as this and the next chapters will reveal, as in the end, participants co-animating are seen to be self-aggregating to a collective of Self + Other into a single voice and perspective.

Animation of Other

A good form of evidence of how speaking on behalf of others may constitute a relational risk lies in the lower frequency of first animations of the voice of Other. Further proof is found in the fact that when it does happen, the activities are

straightforwardly indexed as playful, as animations of the voice of Other happen routinely in teases and jocular mockery, most of which become co-animated teases in which the target of tease joins in.

In the following case, some of the risks of animating co-participants is visible. Bruce is announcing that he will be emailing a company about a job (line 8), and Alice demonstrates access to the issue by assessing it as “shady” (line 11), which Bruce rejects. Alice then animates Bruce (line 13) as an alternative form of characterising Bruce’s project. That animation is recycled, and somehow repaired and fine-tuned by Bruce, the entitled party (line 16-17), in what becomes a game of incremental co-animations, with Alice co-animating in line 18, and Bruce sequentially deleting by re-doing more complex and “authoritative” versions of Alice’s animation in line 19:

Example 4.25 MCY06LAKE “Draft an email” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
08 BRU i need to draft [my `email.          to `ilabs] (to`day;)>
09 ALI                [draft an `email.]
10                    [ `yes.      ]
11      is this the slightly ~shady:: (0.5)
12 BRU not `shady in the ↑^sligh[test.      ]
13 ALI                [(or more like)]im `bruce by the
                                     way.
14 BRU but `yeah (0.6)
15      i need to go and send them an `email;=(and ill basically) ~say
16      `hi (`ilab), (0.2)
17      my `dads spo[ken to you;]
18 ALI                [its ~me,      ]
19 BRU this is `me, (0.5) `hi? (0.8) i do ~energy?
```

Animating the voice of Another/X

The other kind of voice that often gets (co-)animated is that of a third person (known to co-participants, or constructed) which is part of the narrated event, or a historical figure that is given a voice and evoked or ventriloquised, but which may not be co-present in the interaction. This is the voice of Another.

The animation of a third party could also involve a risk for the first animator. In complaint stories, the animator may be judged for the fairness with which the "offender" is represented or caricaturised, and in the case of first animators with lower epistemic access or entitlement, this could be seen as in need for epistemic repair. First animations of the voice of Another, then, even in literally non-serious activities, is a delicate issue, and their successful deployment is often for the expression of either ridicule or contrasts in figures that the co-participants are invited to affiliate against or playfully co-create.

In this example, Ivan and Lila are discussing their classes, and Lila complains that even though her students are participatory (line 6-7), they are not excited about the content (line 8) in spite of her best efforts (lines 10-16). Ivan animates a characterisation of Lila's students (lines 19-20) that Lila continues and further specifies with her first hand access and entitled status, possibly engaging in some form of embedded correction by not rejecting Ivan's contribution but rather leaving the actual student reaction on record.

Example 4.26 MCY11LAPTOP "Engaged" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
06 LIL `yeah; they are very participa'tory- (.)
07      =theyre very en^gaged (1.2)
08      they dont seem ^like ex ex`cited about it.
09 IVA oh `rea[lly ];
10 LIL      [i wan]ted to make them excited about
11      `whitman; = cause im ^like
12      (whitman) is pretty ex~citing,
```

13 IVA ˈm:hm.
14 LIL like literally the who:le ˈthing = is just ˈlike=
15 IVA =↑ˈyeah;
16 LIL written to exˈcite people,
17 IVA °hh hahahaha °h
18 LIL ↑↑ˈand [(no/i dont/you know)]
19 IVA [<<mod> **i find this**] really ˈdu:ll
20 ˈac[tually?>] (0.65)
21 LIL [hihi ↑ˈyh°eah°;]
22 ˈye:ah = **there was like** <<mod>**just too ˈmuch of it;**>
23 IVA mhh

The discussion of the voices animated and the activities in which these co-animations happened here anticipated some of the epistemic and relational issues that co-participants manage interactionally and that will in later chapters be related to association, the creation of momentary collectivities through forms of self-aggregation.

4.4 Keeping the animation space open: Responsive animations

The prior sections showed how the animation space is opened by a speaker who marks the shift away from the here-and-now through a combination of resources. It also provided evidence that animators weave in the here-and-now and there-and-then by overlaying a stance onto the animated voices, and deploy this practice to carry out specific actions that make other responsive actions conditionally relevant in the current interactional space. The sections above also introduced how the import of these first actions is made clear to co-participants in different activities through the animation of certain voices over others, and how this, in turn, poses a number of issues around epistemic entitlement and ownership that co-participants navigate through talk.

The first animator has completed, or has projected the completion of their first animation. At this point, B offers a completion or continuation of the animation, thus keeping the animation space open. This study is concerned mainly with this moment in the sequence to determine first how **the practice of animating is deployed in second position as a form of response that is seen to satisfy the conditional relevance of the prior turn in the here-and-now, while keeping the animation space open through rooting the current action in the there-and-then previously introduced by A.** So just like it was established for first animations, co-animators are also seen to concurrently manage the here-and-now and the there-and-then, to provide a fitted response while also making their response hearable as a continuation/completion of the first animation.

This section, in particular, will briefly introduce the positional configurations where these responsive animations are found in the collection (first presented in Chapter 3, section 3.5, and fully analysed in Chapter 5) and will discuss how in spite of co-animating these contributions are heard as responsive to the actions put forward by first animations.

4.4.1 Positioning of co-animations relative to first animations

This section will introduce the different points during or after the first animation in which a co-participant may be seen to keep the animation space open, either by completing an ongoing animation or expanding a just-finished animation. Responsive co-animations are the focus of Chapter 5, but these sections will introduce the positional configurations of these co-animations and discuss what makes them hearable as responses to prior turns in the ongoing activities.

The co-animation sequences studied here fulfil the following conditions:

1. It involves a **first animation** in what for our purposes will be considered a **first position** or at the end or juncture point of a big package;
2. It displays an animation in the **responsive** slot;
3. The animated figure in the response is ascribable to the “same” voice animated in first position.

These conditions leave out two groups of responsive animations (13 cases): recycled, and adjunct animations, that are the object of further studies.

Position and configuration of co-animations relative to first animation

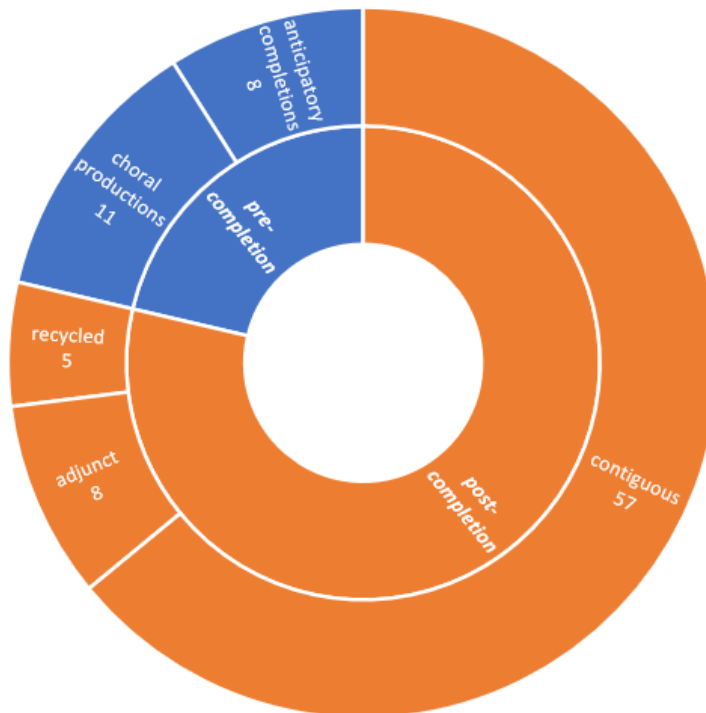


Figure 4.19 Distribution of co-animated responses relative to the position of the first animation

The responsive co-animations included in the collection have been divided into two groups based on their positioning relative to first animations: *pre-emptive responsive co-animations*, and *contiguous post-completion responsive animations*. That is, they happen either during an ongoing animation, bringing it to completion in overlap or

pre-emptively in the clear, or in a contiguous responsive position after the first animation has been marked as finished. These practices are unevenly distributed in the collection, apparently revealing a possible preference/tendency towards post-possible completion contiguous co-animations. That is, the collection features an overwhelming majority of post-completion animations that happen contiguously to first animations, in second position, and are unprefaced.

The remainder of this section briefly introduces these responsive animation types in preparation for a more detailed analysis in Chapter 5.

4.1.1 Pre-possible-completion co-animations

This sub-collection includes cases of ongoing A-animations that are pre-emptively completed by B in overlap, or in the clear, resulting in choral productions or anticipatory completions. As Chapter 5 will discuss in detail, they are found to start in the clear at opportunity or juncture spaces (Lerner, 2004a) in compound TCUs, or be produced in overlap at these points at recognitional or progressional onsets (Drew, 2009; Jefferson, 1986b; Wells & Macfarlane, 1998) after hitches. The co-animated contributions are either second parts of two-part TCUs, or terminal items (phrases or single lexical items), and these differ in their onsets. A schematic representation of the incoming of the responsive co-animation relative to the first animation, listing the different configurational options appears below:

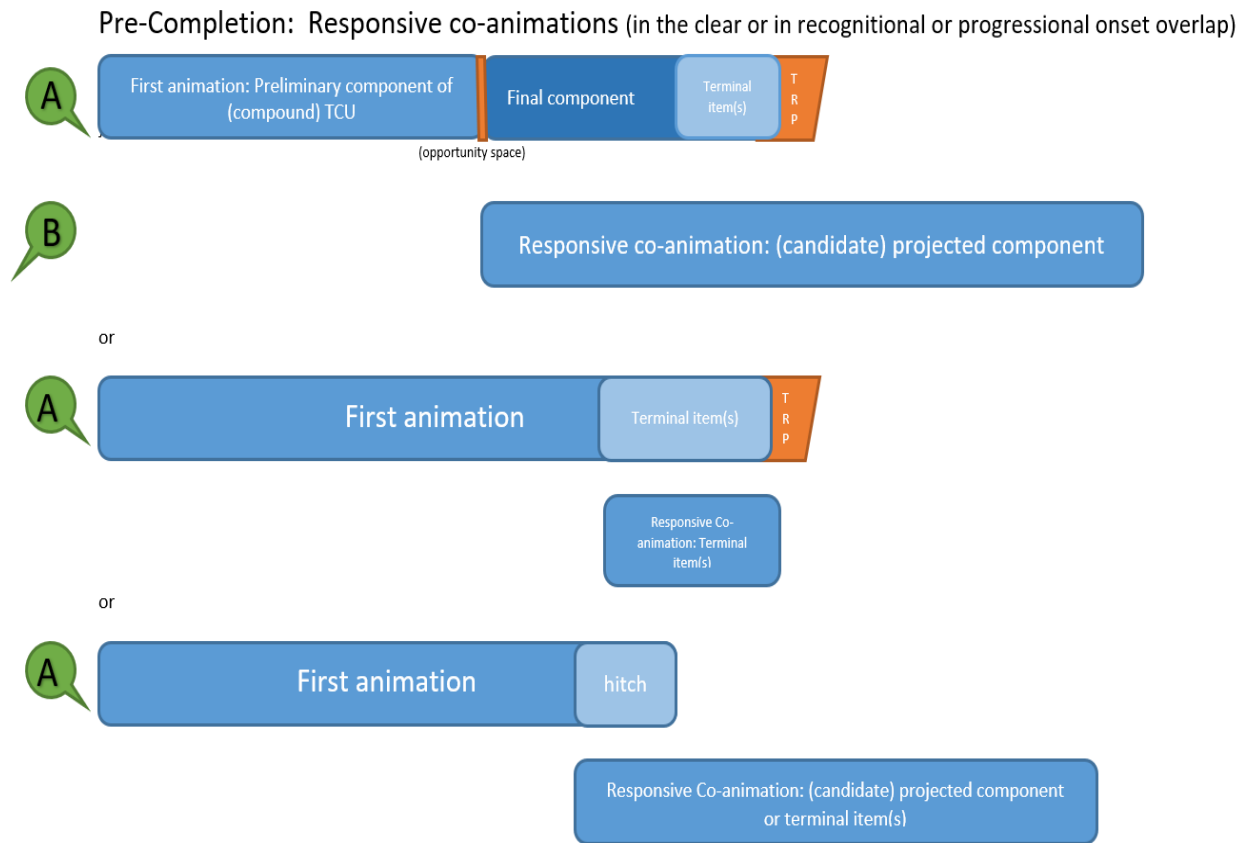


Figure 4.20 Positional configurations of pre-possible-completion co-animated responses

These practices will be considered as more interactionally risky, particularly in epistemic terms: a first speaker has opened the animation space and is producing their animation while simultaneously projecting a stance and a potential conditional relevance. During the online emergence of this turn, a co-participant is seen to complete the ongoing animation in a place where a transition-relevance place has not yet been projected, and full access to the stance and form of the animation may not have been provided. The co-animator may be accountable for first, taking over the animator role during an activity they were not entitled to complete because of a lower epistemic access or entitlement, and then, for risking to miscalculate the direction of A's ongoing turn when epistemic access is not shared. However, as following sections will reveal, co-animations are mostly treated as successful and a great part of it appears to lie in projectability and the joint construction of epistemic grounding.

The following example illustrates a case of pre-possible-completion animation. Angie and Karen are discussing the stress of university life, and Angie reflects on her efforts during her first year with an animated thought that Karen pre-emptively completes (line 17) and which Angie orients to through strong agreement (line 18).

Example 4.27 MCY07BOTTLE "So stressed" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
02 ANG but i mean like when it gets to (0.37)
03     like when i (look back) to ~first year,
04     (with my? `dont get me `wrong;
05     im `happy i put the `work (in);=
06     im ↓happy i did `well.
07     but i ~me:an (0.8) th ?
08     it? i know it = it doesnt really `count.
09     but i ^did stress myself out; = a bit too `much;
10     for `saying that; (0.3)
11     it `is important = to do ~well
12     and put the `effort in;=
13     =because (when we ~bui:lt)
14     but i just look `back;
15     and i ~think
16     ↑`why: was i getting myself in`such; ~li[ke]
17 KAR                                     [s:]o:[^stre    ]ssed.
18 ANG                                     [its `true.]
```

Angie's ongoing string "why was I getting myself in such like" (line 16) projects a noun phrase, but Karen's contribution provides a response ("so stressed", line 17) that is fitted in that it skip-connects to the complement of the verb phrase "getting" and orients to an earlier formulation by Angie (line 9) .

4.2.2 Post-possible completion contiguous animation

Post-possible completion animations make up the largest sub-collection and the most frequent sequential configuration of responsive animations found. Once a first animation has been deployed and a transition relevance place has been produced or made relevant, co-participants may continue the animation of the same voice -without intervening quotatives in the vast majority of cases- in second position, adjacently to the first animation. This also includes the beginning of animation in overlap at transitional onsets, after the focal accent has been produced in A's animation.

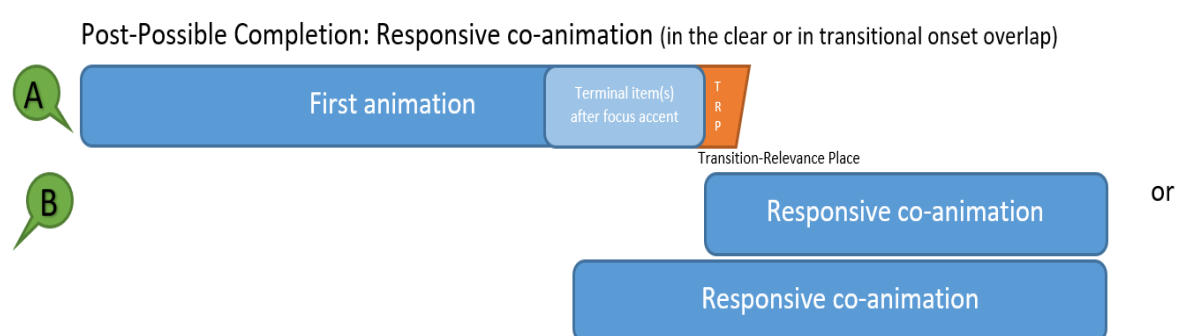


Figure 4.21 Positional configurations of post-possible-completion co-animated responses

Unlike pre-possible completion co-animations, co-animators now have access to the content of the animation and the conditional relevance and stance of their co-participants' prior actions, and are now in a position, if they so wanted, to offer a fitted recipient response. However, in spite of this being a safer position to do co-animation, if epistemic differentials remain, the risks inherent in co-animating are still latent. Although most cases of these animations are successful, deviant cases show these risks at play, as they can be subject to subtle forms of embedded correction or competition.

The following example illustrates this configuration. Dan and Jon are discussing their experiences wearing braces, and Dan shares his horror story of loose metal in his mouth and what is presented as a negligent dentist. After he animates his call to the dentist (line 16), and the inadequate response received by him that also appears to

iconically involve a pause of inactivity (line 18-19), Jon co-animates the same figure (lines 21-22), matching Dan's characteristics and stance in the dentist's portrayal:

Example 4.28 MCY02BAR "Dentist" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
10 DAN ((click)) so i had some like gross `metal;=  
11      = in my ↓`mouth; = for a ↓`while.  
12 JON [ `gro:ss      ]  
13 DAN [ ↓which was ´fun]  
14      its kind of `smooth ´now, um:  
15      i cal? called the `dentist; = and [i was ˉlike      ]  
16 JON                                     [ ((clears throat)) ]  
17 DAN ah `hi. = theres `metal in my mouth,  
18      and `he was like; = `o:h;  
19      (0.9)  
20 JON ↑ˉo: ↓`kay;  
21      (0.8)  
22 JON [ ↑ˉby: ↓`e; ]  
23 DAN [ `really; ] = `r:ubbish orthodontist.
```

Chapter 5 will discuss the design of these two groups of co-animations relative to first animations, and explain how coherence between both animations is achieved, and how these epistemic and agentive differentials are managed.

4.4.2. The responsive features of co-animation

4.4.2.1 *Co-animation as a non-canonical but action-fitted response*

The co-animations relevant to our research are all in responsive position, that is, in a second-position slot where A has finished, or projected the end of their turn and of the animation, and a certain response is being made relevant. In activity and action terms, as anticipated in section 4.3.2, first animations come at particular points of the development of an activity where it is made relevant that the co-participant should

display understanding by providing an agreeing, endorsing, or empathetic response (Clift, 2000; Drew, 1998; Niemelä, 2011).

In this position, B is routinely expected to offer a response that is type-conforming and fitted to the action put forward by A. Whereas co-animations may not constitute canonical forms of responses, some participants orient to their recipient role expectations explicitly by offering, before the co-animation, a participant response that is type-conforming to the kind of response a recipient might normally offer in this position, such as “yeah” or laughter. These minimal responses, however, often come early and in overlap (“at the earliest opportunity”, Stivers & Rossano, 2010), before the responsive co-animation begins, often in the clear, which can be seen in the example below:

Example 4.29 MCY07BOTTLE “Calm down” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
04 my uh? (0.3) mums are `mums. = ↓`arent they,>
05 KAR      and ↑[¯she] was uh° (0.3)
06 ANG      [¯hm ]
07 KAR getting ↑all ex`cited about the idea that °h lih°ke>
08      °ah we ll be ↑settling ^down to-gether=
09      =and ¯i was like?
10      ↑just ↓calm ´d[o:wn:],
11 ANG      [`yeah;]
12      calm ´down,
```

A few of the cases in the collection, however, show what looks like pre-emptive confirmations (Lerner, 1996b) produced by TCU completers, B in our case, in positions where third slot confirmations by A may be due, that is, post-co-animation. We argue that in these co-animations, laminated as they are, these B-produced “yeah” orient to possible alignment issues, given that recipients are seen to be speaking on behalf of tellers or complainers of record, so the production of a receipt or agreement token

may be a way to orient to the recipient role not (initially) taken, while also bringing the sequence to a close, as in the examples below:

Example 4.30 MCY20MUG "Scoons" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```

14 EVI oh i love i?; (click)
15      is it `scone ((skɒn)) or ↑`scone ((skəʊn)).
16      `no; (.) [ `s::coon ((skʊ:n)) >] ?ha
17 SAM      [ `s::coon ((skʊ:n)) >]
18      [yeah yeah haha]
19 EVI [hahahahah      ]

```

Example 4.31 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

68 JON i had to go to the `nurse;
69 and be [ˈl:ike-] (0.4)
70 DAN [ˈo:h.]
71 JON u:m (.) can you ˈshow me any `physio exerˈcises; =
72 =and just give me a load of ˈpainkillers [please],
73 DAN [cause im] ˈdying,=
74 =`yeah.
75 JON (cause) ˈlike? (0.4) `yeah. (0.2)

As the cases above demonstrate, co-animations appear to be satisfactory answers in contexts where both the *display of understanding and affiliation* are the types of responses mobilised. Providing a next relevant action is in itself a display of understanding, but some actions appear to go “in excess” of a display to *demonstrate* understanding (Mondada, 2011; Sacks, Jefferson, & Schegloff, 1992), based on epistemic grounding built in prior talk, or through independent access. In the collection, as future chapters will demonstrate, B-animations in a responsive slot act as forms of active demonstration of understanding of prior animated turns, thus:

- a) They acknowledge the presence of a projected stance and the relevance of an affiliative response in the next available slot by:
 - i) providing an early agreement or laughter token congruent with the tenor or the responsive action mobilised and/or;
 - ii) (then) co-animating in a way congruent with the agreement/endorsement/empathy/humour made relevant;
- b) They reveal recognition of there having been an animation in the previous TCU by doing another animation, hearable as such by format-tying to it in syntactic, semantic, prosodic, and/or gestural-postural terms;
- c) They reveal recognition of a certain activity in place by carrying out one of these actions (see Chapter 5):
 - i) Providing a (candidate) completion;
 - ii) Providing a more specific or unpacked version of (part of) the first animation;
 - iii) Providing a next step or item on a list;
 - iv) Formulating a closing summary;
 - v) Providing an account;
 - vi) Explicating a stance;
 - vii) Escalating/upgrading the level of humour or absurdity.

By re-opening and using the there-and-then of a previously-produced animation to enact some aspect of the stance and activity in progress in the here-and-now, co-participants go beyond “doing reciprocity” and lay a claim to these views and values as being co-owned. Interestingly enough, these actions carried out by co-animations in these contexts could have been designed without an animation format, so the question to be answered in the next chapters is what the added value of co-animation is, in relational terms.

4.4.2.1 *Alternative response formats*

Niemelä (2011), in her corpus of joint storytelling, has noted the high frequency of responding to reported speech using reported speech. Our corpus reveals that whereas many first animations are continued with co-animations, not every first animation is, and in some cases, this is even participant-specific, with full conversations in the corpus (e.g. MCY01GEESE) that do not exhibit a single case of co-animation, even when co-participants are engaged in the same activities and sequential environments where co-animations are embedded, namely: storytelling, complaints, teasing, and fictionalisation. And in these cases, there are generally no pursuits, repair initiation, or forms of sanctioning of non-animated responses.

In the 10 hours of data collected, an overview of non-animated responses to animated turns in complaints, troubles-tellings, storytelling, and teasing, reveals that the alternatives to co-animation are the following:

- a) Agreement tokens: "yeah", "oh".
- b) Assessments
- c) Gist formulations
- d) Response cries
- e) Laughter

The following case illustrates two of the most frequent forms of responses to first animations: recognition and agreement tokens, and assessments, particularly in the two main types of activities included in this study.

In this first case of a complaint story, Maddie is complaining to Kathy about her housemate who seems to be dating two boys at the same time. She is reporting her

conversation with the housemate (lines 16-20; 22-24;26), and at a point where she reports her reaction to the "offending behaviour" (lines 24-26) -a typical position where co-animations are found in complaints, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 6-, Kathy offers an agreement token (line 27), and a closing assessment (line 28) of the housemate's behaviour.

Example 4.32 MCY01GEESE "Defensive" (GAT2 Minimal)

01 KAT mm (click) would you ever consider like
02 talking to kat (.) about it (0.5)
03 MAD i dont know how (.)
04 KAT and saying
05 MAD i dont know if shed even listen to me
06 KAT mm
07 okay
08 MAD thats the problem
09 you know when i talked to her (.)
10 when she was (going out) with both of them °hh
11 and i (talked to) her about them (0.52)
12 KAT oh yeah yeah
13 MAD um (0.72) she just like
14 shuts down straightaway
15 so i was kind of like (.) (**are you like**)
16 **are you sure you should be talking to (.) liam**
17 **when youre with jay**
18 and she was like
19 **yeah its not cheating**
20 and i was like **i kind of think it is**
21 KAT **okay**
22 MAD **because of like (1.5) how youre acting**
23 **(and she was like) its not**
24 so then i was like (0.83)
25 KAT sss
26 MAD **okay bye then (.)** like hh°
27 KAT **yeah** (0.45)]

28 **very defensive**
29 MAD its not like i can
30 KAT mm
31 mm
32 MAD nothing to say then
33 KAT yeah

In some respects, Kathy's response does, in a non-animated manner, what most co-animated responses do at this point in complaining activities. However, whereas in this case Kathy formulates explicitly the stance ascribed to the complaine, co-animated formulations tend to explicate the stance of the complainant and their reaction to the complainable (see section 5.2.2.3 in Chapter 5).

In teasing and fictionalisations, laughter and co-animations that upgrade the level of ridicule or imagination are frequent forms of response. The example below shows Jesse discussing the way he envisages the "DJ Nights" activity at university to be conducted when he is in charge (lines 3-8). Fiona opens the animation space by mocking possible retractors from Jesse's "regime" (lines 9-10) and animates her projected reaction to this (lines 13-14;17-20; 23-24) and that of others, in a playful and incremental manner, with each of these contributions being oriented to by Jesse through laughter.

Example 4.33 MCY04SANDWICH "DJ" (GAT2 Minimal)

01 JES i really hope the dj nights take off
02 FIO hm (0.68)
03 JES and i can find (a) space where i can play
04 ah° its gonna be so good (1.6)
05 everyone has to wear all black (.) no exceptions (0.5)
06 only obscure industrial post punk minimalist noise (.)
07 will be played (0.6) no dancing (0.4)
08 [everyone] has to stand with a drink and look in it
09 FIO [okay]
10 **[i dont wanna d]j [any m]ore**

11 JES [and not say anything]
12 [hh° h°h°]
13 FIO does that come up and ill be like
14 **(get) ready for some justin [bie]ber**
15 JES [haha]
16 hahaha
17 FIO ya::: (1.55)
18 **come at me** haha
19 **no literally please dont come at me=**
20 **=ill put some [punk on im s]orry** hahaha
21 JES [hahaha]
22 FIO ha h°h° °hhh (1.16)
23 **did i say justin bieber**
24 **i m[eant] (0.43) slaves**
25 JES [haha]
26 FIO [hahahahaha]
27 JES [hahaha]
28 (2.0)

Chapter 7 will focus on teasing and joint fictionalisation, but it is interesting to anticipate here that in this latest example, Fiona is doing through the incremental continuation and upgrading of her humorous turns (lines 18-20, and 23-24), what *co*-participants are often seen to do in *joint* fictionalisations. In other words, the same kind of sequential and turn structuring found in single-speaker animations in teasing/fictionalisations is found when co-participants co-animate.

Having briefly reflected on co-animation as a frequent, but not exclusive form of response to first animations in these activities, the next chapter will focus on co-animations as responses, and how they are recognisable as co-animated turns to co-participants. The hearability of B-animations as continuations/completions is designed through forms of resonance (Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012) with first animations in the use of resources. Let us now turn to the closing of the animation space.

4.5. Exiting the animation space and orienting to co-animated responses

This chapter has so far discussed how participants introduce animations to position themselves in a particular way around an event or behaviour in the here-and-now, and index this shift to the displaced place and time of the animated interaction through a number of lexico-grammatical, prosodic, and/or gestural resources. These resources work together in the framing of animation as such, but because of the different temporality of their trajectories, they are not necessarily aligned. This makes the question of when the definitive return to the here-and-now is made hard to answer, especially given the presence of evidence that points at the overlaying of stance simultaneous to the animation, as with interspersed laughter particles.

The cases in the collection show a limited variety in the type of responses that first animators provide to co-animations, and how the animation space is exited. This final section of the chapter will focus on joint “exiting strategies” by looking at a) the potential closing of the animation space, or unquoting, done by either first animators or co-animators, and b) the orientation to responsive co-animations by co-participants.

4.5.1 Unquoting: potentially closing the animation space

Section 4.3.2.2. showed how animations are never fully anchored in the there-and-then, as there are always markers of the relevance of this action to the here-and-now, generally through the overlaying of the first animator’s stance through voice quality, facial expression, or interspersed patterns of laughter. Studies like those by Bolden (2004) also demonstrate how gestural or prosodic features fade away during the

production of the verbal material of the animation. Therefore, for practical purposes in interaction, and as confirmed by this collection, the animation space is potentially hearable as closed when the verbal animated material finishes and conditional relevance is activated -particularly in this collection where the animation often coincides with turn endings-, unless other noticeable features are held.

There are some specific design features that have been associated to the management of turn-taking in the here-and-now that co-participants may use as cues for animation and turn ends. These resources appear on their own, or combined. In first and/or responsive co-animations, after the verbal animated material finishes, some of the identified exit resources are:

- post-positioned laughter
- audible outbreaths
- fading away of phonetic shifts
- gaze return towards co-participant, or mutual gaze withdrawal
- return of gestures or posture to home position, or release
- lapses

Our example of Jesse's first animation below reveals the combination of these resources, highlighted. His first animation contains interspersed laughter particles (line 38), is closed with an inbreath and laughter, and the end of the gestural trajectory with his head and neck started with the beginning of his animation. Changes in pitch height and volume are not kept throughout the animation:

Example 4.34 MCY04SANDWICH "Desperate" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
34 JES ˘hopefully, (0.6)
35      ˘a:nd (.) now that we actually ˘know some people? hh° (0.4)
36 FIO ˘ye:ah.
```



```

37 JES as o'pposed to:; (.)
38     `ple::ase = c(h°)ome on my `sh(h°)ow [°hh ] ha
39 FIO                                     [ʔah°] ʔah° hahaha

```

Example 4.34 MCY04SANDWICH "Desperate" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



38 <<f,h>*`PLE::ASE> = c(h°)ome *on my *`SH(h°)O: *W [°hh] ha]
 *neck up-----*lowers neck &head
 *home position*looks down

The following example (4.35) also shows the fading away of shifts in articulatory settings from modal voice as the incremental animation advances. The non-modal prosodic features with which the mock voice of Self that Liz is presenting here are highlighted on the transcription, where it can be seen that advanced tongue and lower jaw configurations are not present in subsequent elements of her animation (e.g. lines 33 and 34).

Example 4.35 RCECIGARETTE "Got a plate?" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

27 LIZ am i tAKing the `PISS if i tAke?;

28 if im like <<mod, adv tongue, palatalised, tense artic>
↑^{OO::H} `YES ill;

29 <<palatalised> [ill take some] `LAMB chops <<adv jaw>for nExt
`SUNda:y?>> =and ill

30 CHA [ill take it]

31 LIZ haha <<l, adv jaw, palatalised, mod> ↓some sAusages on

' THURSDay , >>

32 (1.06)
33 <<all> (dyou) mInd if i> `TAKE this;
34 b (.) bOttle of `KETchup <<adv tongue>as [wElI;]
35 CHA [hahah]

Palatalisation		
Tense articulation		
Advanced tongue		
Advanced lower jaw		
Verbal material List item 1	List item 2	List item 3

Figure 4.22 Time-aligned resources in Liz's Self-animation (lines 28-34)

The end of co-animated sequences may then exhibit lapses and transitions to other (un)related matters, as in lines 43 and 44 in our “Desperate” example show:

Example 4.36 MCY04SANDWICH "Desperate" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```

37 JES as opposed to:; (.)
38   `ple::ase = c(h°)ome on my `sh(h°)ow [°hh ] ha
39 FIO                                     [ʔah°] ʔah° hahaha
40 JES °hh hh° °hh
41 FIO im `desperate. (.) ↑~ple::ase, (0.5)
42   ↓`ye:ah.
43   (1.75)
44 FIO `what was your `show called again.

```

Co-animated sequences often end with mutual gaze in a way that both acknowledges and somehow “celebrates” the co-production (cfr Pfänder & Couper-Kuhlen, 2019), especially if the co-animation happened in choral overlap, and then moving towards disengagement. These embodied exits exhibit mirrored movements toward other embodied activities, like self-grooming, or manipulating objects in the surroundings.

The stills below show the development from the co-animation end into the complete disengagement:



Figure 4.23 Gestural joint exiting of animation in RCE01CIGARETTE "Backdrop"



Figure 4.24 Gestural joint exiting of animation in MCY20MUG "Scoon"

Thus, the "unquoting" processes are more conclusive in verbal terms, with other vocal and gestural dimensions (Bolden, 2003) often wearing off earlier. This seems to point at that marking entries into the animation space may be more relevant for participants than marking exits, which in turn makes it clear that the animation is an object used in the here-and-now of interaction that makes another responsive action relevant, so the here-and-now is never fully abandoned, and this appears to be indexed through the gradual relaxing of prosody-gesture configurations as the verbal material of the animation comes to an end and a transition-relevance place is reached.

4.5.2 Orienting to responsive co-animations in third position

Finding that the animation space is extended beyond their own animation, or re-opened, by a co-participant, the first animator is faced with the choice of extending the animation space further, making this an extended co-animation sequence, or moving towards the closure of the space or the topic. This slot after a responsive animation is a space where first animators can confirm and/or show appreciation of their co-participant animations, reject, or "repair" them.

4.5.2.1 *Ratifying the co-animated response*

The fact that this (normally third) slot is more frequently used by first animators to offer a ratifying, confirming response puts co-animation on a par with other collaborative turn sequences (Lerner, 2004a). As the last place of defence of intersubjectivity (Schegloff, 1992, 1997) and the place where epistemic differentials and potential invasions of territorial preserves may be eased or redressed (Heritage, 2018; Raymond & Heritage, 2006), the third position is used by co-participants to manage the interactional and relational consequences of responsive co-animations appended to their own first animations.

Third position also works as evidence that even though they may not be formatted as such, first animators treat responsive co-animations as candidate understandings, but ones that are found to have complied with the conditional relevance projected by first animations, which do not necessarily derail the progressivity of the sequence.

These third-position affordances are also subject to the positional differences of co-animating contributions. In pre-emptive completions, this results in a speakership-listenership reversal, as the original animator becomes a recipient of their own turn, while being provided with an opportunity to recover the authority over the just-completed turn. If the contribution is accepted, then the collectivity is accepted, and participants are ratified as co-authors and co-animators:

“Co-producing a TCU component is then one way that participants can establish or sustain their entitlement to co-authorship/ownership of experience and do it in a fashion that concomitantly allows them to demonstrate their appreciation of their co-participant’s shared entitlement”
(Lerner, 2002:239)

The example below shows the agreement token “yeah” in third position in a case of anticipatory completion. Carol is reporting what kinds of questions her parents would ask her after an interview (lines 7, 8), establishing a contrast with the questions that the mother of a common friend had asked her son, which Mia evokes in line 11:

Example 4.37 RCEBENCH “Wear” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
06 CAR m: `my parents::; = the ~first thing,=
07      =they would `say to me is: (0.6)
07      ((name)) how did it `go an::d;
08      well `don::e an:d; ((click)) =
09 MIA =`yeah.
10 CAR ~the[n:]
11 MIA      [~n:]ot; = wha? what didyou `wear, hehehe
12      [haha      ]ha
13 CAR[ ye:ah;]
14 MIA °h did you ↑^speak to your parents `yesterday.
```

These third-position closing tokens also often coincide with sequence and often topic endings, which supports the point made earlier about first animations being placed at climactic points and moments where the activity in progress may be wrapped-up.

For post-possible completion animations, through B’s provision of a version of a state of affairs, a new slot for confirmation or decision (Heritage & Watson, 1979) is created for this version and with it, this just-initiated “consultative reflection on the whole, or some part of the rest of the conversation” (1979:136). In this respect, the producer of the first version confirms the co-participants’ understanding of affairs, which is deemed the preferred option. In the case of co-animations, there is more to be confirmed than just understanding, and this is related to the interactional “double duty” of these formulations, their being composites in terms of action (Rossi, 2018).

It is most frequently the case that these completions are accepted, and overwhelmingly with “yeah”, by the original animator. A quick overview reveals this as the most common configuration and shows how it happens early, in overlap, or during a shared period of laughter. Upgraded forms of “yeah” found in the collection involve “exactly”, and “it’s true”.

Example 4.38 MCY20MUG “Outdo” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
20 EVI the cathedral `mosque; = is hi`larious? ha
21 SAM its a`mazing, °hh
22     i[s: we      ] ↑cant out`do this; (0.7)
23 EVI [((laughs))]
24     `but, (.) we can s: essentially ↓`steal it.
25     ha[haha      ]
26 SAM     [ˈyh°e:(h°)ah.] ↓pretty ˘much,
```

Example 4.39 MCY07BOTTLE “Calm down” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
09KAR =and ˘i was like?
10     ↑just ↓calm ˘d[o:wn:],]
11 ANG                [˘yeah;]
12     calm [˘down,]
13 KAR                [tsahh°]
14 ANG [˘dont get too a˘head] of your self?
15 KAR [°nhh          ]
16     e`xact[ly;]=
17 ANG                [mm ]
18 KAR because (it felt/to be fair) like of (our) ↑two: ye:ar
        re`lationship; (0.3)
19     weve ˘actually only been in the same place
20     for ˘one year,
21 ANG ˘ye::ah;
```

4.5.2.2 Extending the animation

The slot after a co-animated response is provided is also a slot where first animators can extend the co-animation sequence further by expanding the animation sequence, as is most frequently the case in joint fictionalisations and teasing episodes, where there the creative endeavour involves a more symmetrical epistemic status. These cases reveal how co-animations are jointly-owned objects, as the original animator (A) may incorporate some of the parameters of prior B's proposed co-animation, as in the case below (lines 26-37), where the first co-animation is repaired, and then further extended (lines 41-43; 48-49).

Example 4.40 MCY11LAPTOP "Influences" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

24 IVA [and ?any -time = any `time you] go to a `reading, (0.5)
25 LIL [e?h° (`da:mn;)]
26 IVA oh one of the `questions is `usually -like
27 ^o::h like [what are your inspi`rations]
28 LIL [what are your `influe:nces]
29 IVA [yeah `in]fluence ^isnt it;
30 LIL [`ye:ah;]
31 hahaha
32 IVA `what are your inspi`rations;
33 LIL hahaha
34 IVA ^uh:m
35 LIL (tell me) a-bout your `hopes and `dreams,
36 IVA and like they ^a:ll; = they always `have them,
37 [`so::;]
38 LIL [´ye:ah,]
39 (0.57)
40 IVA (ivan too) i -me:an
41 LIL its like ↑`no; = i dont `read anythi[ng; °?ha]
42 IVA [i dont `have a]ny
43 influences;
44 LIL [i ´actually, = only just (learned) to read `yesterday,]
45 IVA [hahahahah]
46 IVA [hahahahaha]

47 LIL [hahahahahaha] °hh
 48 IVA [hahahha]
 49 LIL [↑`me. (.) i am my ↓own ↓↓`infs.:]
 50 (.) ↑walt `whitman. = of ↓`kosmos.
 51 IVA hahahahaha (.)
 52 LIL °hh ha
 53 °hh
 54 IVA ↑what is this `walt whitman in `kosmos thing?

4.5.2.3 Sequentially deleting, or leaving responsive animations unacknowledged

Apart from addressing any miscalculations by the co-animators regarding the content or stance indexed in the co-animation, first animators may at this point address (and be redressed for) any potential disalignment around epistemic entitlement and ownership that the co-animator could have caused by co-opting the animator role of an experience that may not be in their epistemic or ownership domain. By producing a new animation, particularly starting with a quotative, first animators may use this slot to reassert their primary rights and sequentially delete prior animations when they extend the animation further.

The case below shows how Alice's animation in line 14, which is a form of repair of having cast some doubt on Bruce's ethics (line 11), is re-done in lines (17-18), with a resulting sequential deletion of Alice's prior attempt, by re-starting, in line 15, the story launched in line 8.

Example 4.41 MCY06LAKE "Draft an email" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

08 i need to draft [my `email.]= [to `ilabs] (to`day;)>
 09 ALI [draft an `email.]
 10 [`yes.]
 11 is this the slightly `shady:: (0.5)
 12 BRU not `shady in the ↑^sligh[test].

13 ALI [(or more like)]
14 **im `bruce by the way.**
15 BRU but `yeah (0.6)
16 i need to go and send them an `email;=(and ill basically) ˘say
17 **`hi (˘ilab), (0.2)**
18 **my `dads spo[ken to you];**
19 ALI [its ˘me,]
20 BRU this is `me, (0.5) ˘hi? (0.8) i do ˘energy?
21 ALI nh° nh°nh°

It is also the case that after a responsive co-animation, the first animator may leave the contribution explicitly unaddressed, and move on to the next turn in the development of the activity in progress. The latter is an ambiguous form of response, as it is not clear if the lack of acknowledgement is indeed a marker of acceptance, or just a way to delete the sequential implicativeness of the first animation by skip-connecting to the first animation (cfr. Lerner, 2004a). The lack of confirmation may refer to a possible miscalculation, or to an orientation to the entitlement differentials when a co-participant has taken a co-animator role.

In this example, Jon is contextualising the conflict in his narrative, and produces a self-animation in line 32 that projects a second part with a problem. This production is accompanied with silence and a fist-on-hand beat gesture repeated three times. Dan proposes a positive continuation, an encouraging version of Jon's voice. Jon does not verbally acknowledge the contribution in line 35 but rather skip-connects to his previous animation, sequentially deleting Dan's contribution and moving the narrative forward towards the next problem in the series of the narrative.

Example 4.42 MCY02BAR "Let's do it" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

21 JON [brought a light]board;
22 `soundbo:ard; (0.2) everything. (0.6)

23 and i was ˈlike (0.7)
 24 ˈthis is aˈmazing, (0.6)
 25 exˈcept; (0.5) ˈthis:: (0.4) ˈshitty:: ˈshed,
 26 was ˈbuilt like; (0.8)
 27 a ˈhundred years ago? (0.4) ((click))
 28 and so like it literally ˈhad like;
 29 two or ˈthree = power ˈoutlets. (0.5)
 30 DAN °ah[hh]
 31 JON [and ˈi was] ˈlike
 32 oˈkay= ive got to ˈrig this,
 33 (1.6)
 34 DAN <<cr>↓lets ˈdo i?
 35 JON <<cr> h::ow am i gonna ˈdo tha?;> ((click)) (0.4)
 36 [um:]
 37 DAN [((lip smack))]

Example 4.42 MCY02BAR "Let's do it" (lines 32-33; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

32 <<acc> oˈKAY>= ive gOt to *ˈRIG this,
 *R fist hit on leg (x2)
 *opens mouth
 33 (1.6) *(0.8 + * 0.8)
 Jon *fist hit on leg *fist on hand

Outright rejections are not present in the collection, though embedded corrections like the one above can be traced, particularly when epistemic differentials or competing projects are in place. The example below shows Ivan telling Lila about a conference presentation he attended on a topic of Lila's interest. Ivan uses Lila's reaction in line 22 as the trigger for a tease, which he pushes through (lines 26-27) and with an animation (lines 31 and 34) while Lila attempts to introduce an account (28, 32-33), and which she completes after co-animating (line 35).

Example 4.43 MCY11LAPTOP "Really?" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

15 IVA the ˈthing was (like) =

16 =yes she was like henry ˈloui?
17 ˈhenry louis ˈgates:; (0.4) ˈju:nior
18 he: did like a ˈhu:ge (0.7)
19 LIL ˈstudy on:; (.)[erm ˈrace;] in doˈminicn: ʔin:
20 [ˈpassing,=ˈyeah.]
21 IVA the dominican reˈpublic?
22 LIL ↑↑ˈrea:lly?
23 IVA ˈye(ʔh°)ah. (1.2)
24 LIL [-o:h i suˈppo::se]
25 IVA [hihihi hh°]
26 (i really cant? = i ˈdidnt know) youre like a ˈbi:g
27 h°en(h°)ry lou(h°)i[s gates ˈperson(ʔnh°)?] hahah
28 LIL [i just ↑↑didnt thi:nk]
29 ˈno::.. hhe°
30 IVA [°hh hehe]
31 [oh ˈr:ea:lly?]
32 LIL [°hh i -just]
33 ↑didnt ˈthi(h°)nk that was [like -hi:s]
34 IVA [oh ˈwhy didnt he] ˈtell me, h°
35 LIL ↑yeahh° = ˈyeaʔh° = ↑ˈhenry?
36 IVA ʔhaʔha
37 LIL u:hm i ˈdidnt really ˈthink that -wa:s (.) -his: (0.8) ˈarea;=
38 =but i suˈppose it ˈis. (0.9)
39 ˈyea:h.

The creation of a third slot for confirmation of the co-produced animation seems to be almost pervasive in the collection. The fact that places where responsive animations are repaired or reveal some tension are infrequent, shows how co-animators deal successfully with any possible epistemic differentials, particularly around their “territorial preserves” (Goffman, 1971). The importance of this sequential position relates not only to the possibility of the first animator to accept what has been said on their behalf, but to confirm that the attempt at the creation of a collectivity has been successful, so that is, as something said on *both* their behalfs.

4.6 Summary: Jointly opening, sustaining, and closing the animation space

This chapter has fulfilled two purposes: b) offer an overview of the positional, content, and design characteristics of the collection of 89 co-animation sequences encountered in 10 hours of conversational data in English, by also providing a large number of samples to show the breadth of cases; b) lay the foundations for an in-depth analysis of responsive co-animation as a practice by introducing some of the key participant problems opening, sustaining, or closing the animation space.

We started with a definition of the animation space as a permeable space in interaction with its own displaced participation frameworks, time, and place. It was defined as a space with fuzzy boundaries where concurrent semiotic resources weave the here-and-now and the there-and-then together, as figure 4.25 below schematises.

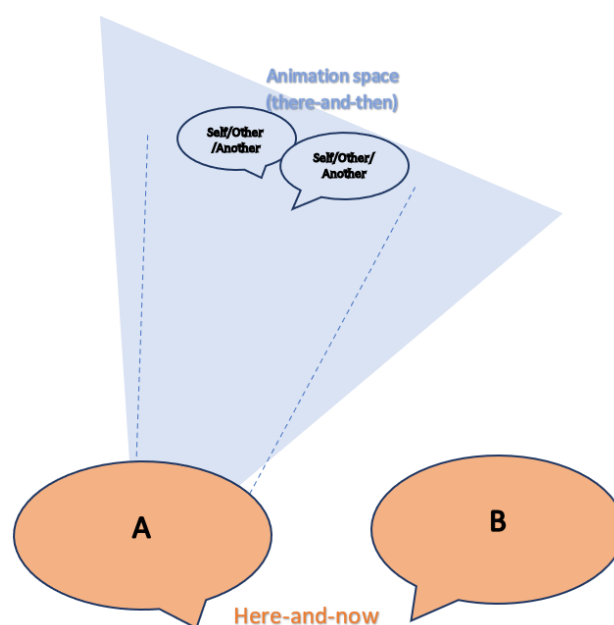


Figure 4.25 Schematic representation of the animation space

The chapter moved on to the discussion of the interactional demands around the use of animation as a practice, highlighting the need to concurrently manage the shift to the there-and-then of animated content and the projection or orientation to the conditional relevance set up through first animated turns.

The first participant problem, that of marking the shift into the animation space, was shown to be fulfilled by first animators through a combination of verbal and non-verbal resources: verbal (particularly the use of "be like") but also zero quotative prefaces, and vocal and non-vocal resources like prosodic shifts, gestural, postural, and gaze configurations, with different domains of alignment relative to the verbal content of the animation (see figure 4.26 below for a representation). These resources were also shown to concurrently index a projected stance and conditional relevance of the actions effected through the deployment of animation in the development of the ongoing activity.

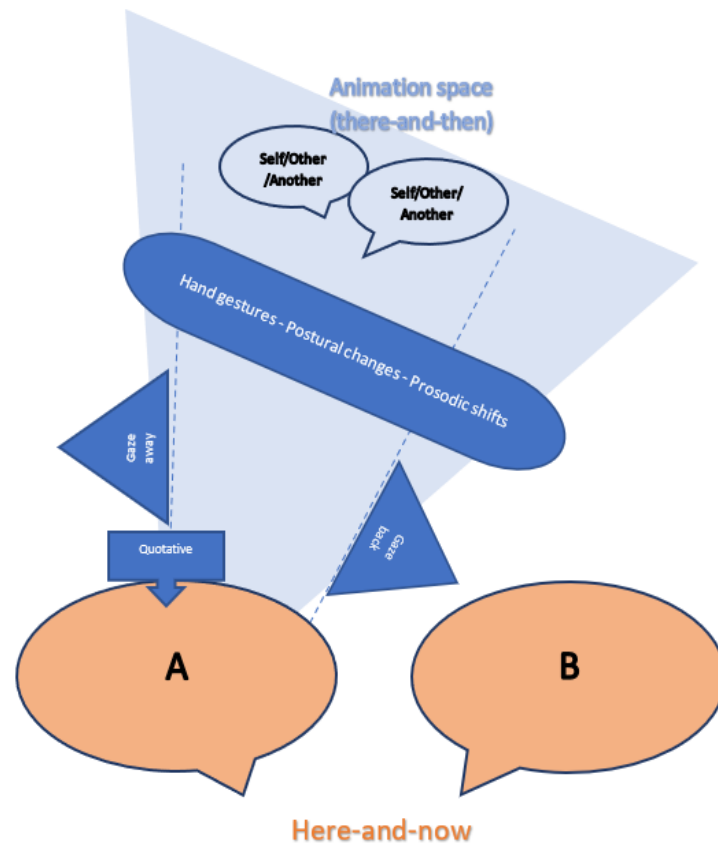


Figure 4.26 Schematic representation of the alignment of animation-flagging resources

During the development of a first animation, or just after it has been marked as finished, a co-participant may sustain the openness of the animation space by completing or continuing the animation of the same voice. Responsive co-animation is the focal practice of our work, and it poses a demand on co-animators of the marking of coherence with prior animations, as well as of the satisfaction of conditional relevance set up by first animators.

The discussion introduced a few relevant points around the practice of co-animation that will be the focus of the rest of the current work, stressing that a) its onset can be at pre- or post-possible-completion points relative to the first animation; b) co-animation is a responsive option that actively demonstrates understanding and

displays affiliation, allowing co-participants to associate by speaking on behalf of others *as*, and *with* others.

It was established that in the collection co-animation is a practice found in the development of troubles tellings and complaint stories, teasing episodes, and joint fictionalisation and make-believe. It was described how different activities pose consequential differentials around epistemic access and entitlement for potential co-animators, and this is also determined by whether the voices co-animated are those of Self, Other, or (an absent) Another.

Finally, it was shown how the animation space is closed by a return to the here-and-now by the conclusion of the verbal material of animation, as well as with the waning off of prosodic and gestural packaging resources. The chapter concluded by anticipating how co-participants' bids to associate are more often than not, successful through a demonstration of how third position is used to extend, repair, or most frequently, accept and celebrate the co-animated sequences.

The next three chapters will address these participant problems in more focused ways, by delving into the positioning, design, and associative power of co-animation as a practice in the social activities in which it is deployed. The discussion will attempt to demonstrate how different choices exercised by B in the animated there-and-then render different degrees of voice-blending, and thus, of fusion into single units of participation, with the co-animator seen to be speaking on behalf of A, or of A+B as a collectivity.

5. Responsive co-animations: positionally-sensitive lexico-syntactic, prosodic, and gestural design

5.1 Co-animation: position and design, epistemics and agency

The previous chapter introduced the practice of (co-)animation in the collection, by discussing the interactional demands and risks that co-participants face around opening, sustaining, and closing the animation space. It discussed how different resources are deployed to mark a disjunction with the here-and-now and thus enable co-participants to hear the contributions as animated, and at the same time, to overlay a here-and-now-relevant stance onto the animated content to support the current course of action. Chapter 4 also introduced co-animating as an option in the response slot and discussed what its deployment entails in sequential terms, and what participant problems are associated with it and need to be solved by design and positioning. This chapter will delve into these positionally-sensitive issues of design in co-animations in detail.

As established, for first animators, one of the interactional demands is to create disjunction from the talk in the here-and-now. For *co*-animators, it is just the opposite: the production needs to be made hearable as coherent and integrated with prior animations. One of the key issues around co-animation for co-participants, then, is how to ensure an **unproblematic hearability of these responses as continuations or completions of prior animations** while **simultaneously be seen to be complying with the conditional relevance projected through the action of the first animation**.

If we return to the example presented in our prior chapter, we found a first animation by Cassie “doing being” her partner (line 36), followed by a Self-animation acting as a response to the partner’s moan (lines 37-39). In recognitional overlap, before Cassie’s animation has finished, but during a period of mutual gaze, Leonie is heard to continue the animation of Cassie’s response, extending the complaint (lines 40-42). The point of Leonie’s incoming is a point where an endorsing response to the complaint is projectably relevant, and this comes in the form of a co-animation.

Example 5.1 MCY09PIN “Ill” (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```

33 CAS i dont ↑`KNOW. it s just `LIKE (0.2) ((sniff))
34     <<downstepped> you `jUst dont Always go ^ON about it;> (0.3)
35 LEO nO you `DO::[NT,      ]
36 CAS          [((click))] 2oh im `ILL; (0.3)
37     <<all> i spOke to you ten `MINutes ago;> = you were `ILL;
38     =`YES:.
39     i `G[ET it2.  ]
40 LEO     [^I `KNO::]W,=
41     = <<all>you `tOld me you were Ill> `YESTerda:y -
42     ↓<<all, p>you tOld me you were ill the day> be^FO::RE huhuh°
      (0.4)  ((sniff))
43 CAS (we re at) the `CLInic in `YORK; (0.3)

```

As in this example, most responsive co-animations in the collection lack a quotative, and still, first animators successfully interpret co-animated turns as such, and beyond the positional contiguity of both animations that can contribute to this hearability, a greater part of this coherence is achieved through the *format-tying strategies* (M. H. Goodwin, 1990) deployed by B. Co-animators make use of lexico-grammatical, gestural/postural, and prosodic resources resonant with first animations to index the coherence between both animated turns. Therefore, explaining how a co-animation is recognisable relies on **defining levels of sameness/relatedness and integration**

between the two animations, and likewise, in these forms of similarity lie the levels of fusion of the two voices doing co-animation of the same voice.

There are different ways in which Leonie's animation above can be heard as an extension of Cassie's first animation, and they will be analysed in detail in Chapter 6. For a rough summary, apart from the use of pronouns that reveal the continuation of the participation frameworks of the animation, in semantic terms, Leonie's animation refers back to Cassie's through synonymy ("I spoke to you", line 37 > "you told me", lines 41-42), and repetition ("you were ill", lines 37 and 41-42). The temporal component in Cassie's animation ("ten minutes ago", line 37) is expanded ("yesterday", "the day before" lines 41-42), extending the domain of the complainable behaviour. The marking of coherence is also seen the prosodic delivery, with an overall increase of speech tempo (marked as <<all>> in the transcription) in a long period of anacrusis ("you told me you were ill", lines 41-42) that ties back to Cassie's fast-paced animation of Self ("I spoke to you ten minutes ago", line 37). Leonie's own design elements contribute to the expression of shared stance of annoyance, such as the stylised contours distributed in a narrow pitch span, and final vowel lengthening on the temporal items denoting routine-like behaviour, visible in figure 5.1.

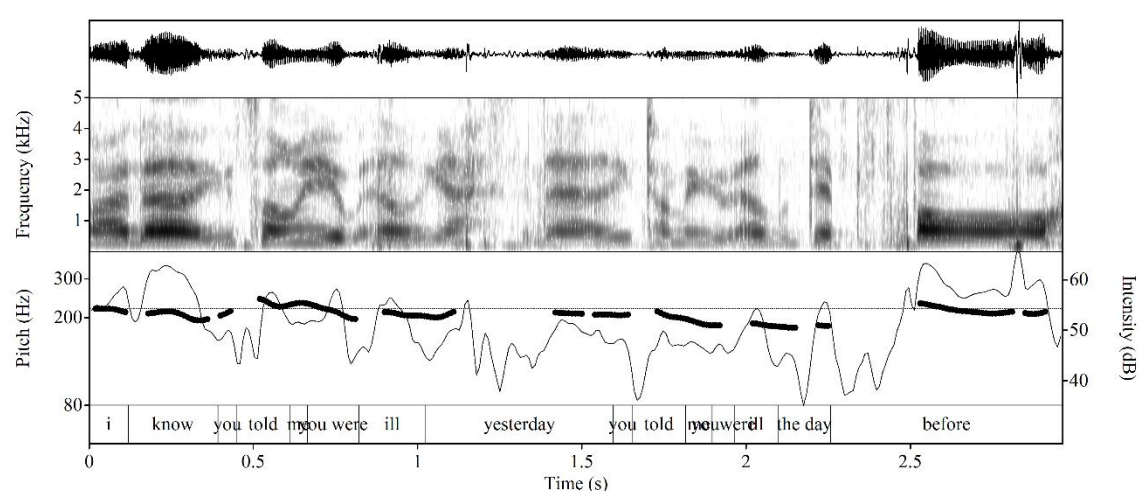


Figure 5.1 Waveform, spectrogram, and f0 trace (Hz log) of Leonie's co-animated response (lines 40-42)

The coherence between first and co-animations is achieved in different ways in the collection, and it will be claimed that the use of resources is actually **positionally-sensitive** (Schegloff, 1996b), as responsive co-animated turns in the collection have been found to begin in either pre- or post-possible completion, which entails co-participants will have achieved different degrees of access to the direction and stance the original animation is projecting by the time their co-animation begins.

This creation of coherence, nevertheless, entails a tension in terms of the levels of independent agency (Enfield & Kockelman, 2017b; Kockelman, 2007; Thompson et al., 2015) and epistemic access that a respondent who is seen to be “going second” (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) can display in the design of the response.

Agency refers to the levels of freedom and flexibility that participants can claim around the composition and accountability of their actions (Enfield & Kockelman, 2017a), and this is relevant for the design of co-animations. A responsive co-animation is not supposed to stray too much from the original animation if it is to be hearable as an actual continuation or completion happening within the animation space opened by A. This means that to a certain extent, the co-animator needs to play to the rules of the first animation.

On the other hand, the responsive co-animation should also be recognisable as a relevant next action, one that manages the epistemic differentials of “going second” that may exist in the development of the current activity, by not “merely going along with” the first speaker (Raymond & Heritage, 2006) and establishing some form of independent basis for the agreement. Even though authenticity was shown to be inconsequential when it comes to animated content (see chapters 2 and 4), -which should relieve the pressure on K- (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) co-animators not

holding first-hand access to the animated events-, epistemic *entitlement* (Heritage, 2012a) and *ownership* may, conversely, be something potentially delicate. Responsive co-animations are produced by a (frequently K-) co-participant who has not initiated nor are they leading the activity in progress, and who is found to somehow co-opt the role of the first animator, animating a voice often ascribable to their co-present co-participant. Thus, co-animators propose a change to the participation frameworks of the here-and-now, making the first animator confirm the suitability of what has been appended to their first animation and been said on their behalf, and these agentive issues can also be encoded in the design (Rossi & Zinken, 2017; Stivers, 2005; Thompson et al., 2015). Therefore, the design features of these completions or continuations by B of first animations by A should reflect the **agentive² and epistemic differentials** based on their distance or proximity towards the completion point of the first animation and the levels of access and entitlement regarding the animation content.

In summary, this chapter will focus on co-animation and on how it works as a responsive practice that keeps the animation space open, describing how co-animators contextualise their contributions as both completions/continuations of prior turns through resources picked up from and format-tied to prior animations, and as animations of the same voice as that produced by the first animator. It will define how the tension between distributed and independent agency is displayed in turn-design, and how epistemic differentials are smoothed or even overturned by affiliative concerns. In particular, it will discuss how resources are deployed to this end, focusing

² It is acknowledged, however, that agentivity is not an easy aspect to define, and given its multi-layered nature, it could be said that some elements of agency, such as "joint composing" (Enfield, 2011), are more distributed, whereas issues of knowledge and "control" of the content and structures used, may or may not be more independent.

on a) how the positionally-sensitive lexico-grammatical design of their responsive turns orients to epistemic and agentive issues particularly in terms of access, independence, and fittedness, b) how gestural and prosodic configurations index opportunity spaces and contribute to the marking of coherence of voices and stance, while contextualising the fulfilment of conditional relevance.

5.2. Positionally-sensitive issues in the design of co-animation: pre- vs. post-possible completion co-animations

In the collection, as anticipated in Chapter 4, co-animations can be found in either:

- *pre-completion* position, that is, as *B-completions* of A's animation in a pre-emptive position, before a transition-relevance place is projected or made relevant, as anticipatory completions, or in overlap, as forms of choral production, as in example 5.2 below:

Example 5.2 MCY06LAKE "Don't like it" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```

15 ALI  =`he said; = ↑`why dont you `like it.
16      (i said)i don2 i dont know ^why i don't [like it];°h(0.3)
17 BRU                                     [hahaha]
18      i just [↓`know i dont like it;]
19 ALI      [i just know i dont ^li]ke i2.

```

- or in *post-completion*, that is, B-animations that *continue* or *expand* an animation by A after it has been presented as possibly complete (at a point of post-possible-completion; Ekberg, 2012) or at a point in which completion has been projected as imminent (i.e. after the focal accent has been produced), either adjacently, post-gap, or later in the next sequence:

Example 5.3 MCY20MUG “Whatever you say” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

49 EVI and then everyone went (0.55) ↑**ye:ah.** (0.26) ↓**ye:ah.**
50 o`kay = ↓**sure.** = (↓**yeah yeah.**) (0.5)
51 SAM **whatever you ^say.**

In order to explain how different resources are deployed to successfully design these co-animated responses as coherent completions/continuations and animations of the same voice, the relation of co-animations to first animations needs to be analysed. The ways in which coherence is established through the choice of syntactic, semantic, prosodic and gestural structures is highly position-dependent.

Providing a response *before* A has marked their turn as complete constitutes an interactional or relational risk: co-participants may miscalculate the direction of the ongoing talk in terms of its design, or its projected stance -unless their project involves the production of a subversive completion (Bolden, Hepburn, & Potter, 2019). This could be even more “unsafe” in the case of animation, given that it is a different voice (or a displaced version of A’s voice) that is represented initially by A, and not having first-hand access to the reported content may lead to B being (morally) accountable for having made inappropriate inferences.

As is known from prior work on pre-emptive completions (Helasvuo, 2004/8; Lerner, 1991, 1996b, 2002; Lerner & Takagi, 1999), projectability is key for setting the scene for co-participants to identify “opportunity spaces” (Lerner, 2004a) and “get it right”. The following sections will show how in this collection, A’s **syntactic design and the creation of semantic contrasts** are a key element in the creation of “safer” spaces for B to complete the animation in progress, and how **prosody -especially rhythm-, gaze, and gesture have a role in signalling opportunity spaces** for B to come in and make their contributions hearable as *co*-animations.

Post-completion co-animations would appear, at first, to be less “risky”: by the time the co-animations begin, co-participants have had access to A’s fully-produced animated content and a stance adopted and have grounds to assess the prior turn and provide a response that, if they so wish, fits the ongoing interactional project.

Whereas a response produced during an ongoing turn forces the co-participant to gather, in a really short period of time, all the available content and resources to produce a fitted completion around what is estimated would be a shared stance, post-completion co-animators can rely on more time to build upon the epistemic ground and access provided. Having to “dance” to the rules established by the ongoing speaker would imply perhaps making less independent, less agentive decisions for pre-emptive completers, whereas post-completion contributions allow for more *independent* content and more agentive design on the part of B, but also provide an opportunity for a more thoughtful and carefully crafted attempt to affiliate.

Post-completion then appears to be a safer environment to speak on each other’s behalf than pre-completion animations, as the stance has been projected already, and the potentially disaligning action of encroaching into someone else’s turn has been averted once the turn has been marked as complete and a response has been made relevant. This could inform the fact that post-completion animations are more often found in the collection.

In this collection, post-completion co-animations, it is mostly through **semantic processes of extension, formulation, and reformulation, with the further contextualising work of prosodic and gestural resources** that are oriented to through **matching/mirroring, integration/entrainment, continuation, or upgrading** (Auer, 1996; Ogden, 2006; Ogden & Hawkins, 2015; Szczepek Reed, 2006, 2010) that embody this coherence. It is generally the case, however, that different

prosodic and gestural parameters may concurrently orient to different aspects of the organisation of the interaction, and while some may clearly be integrated into the previous animation, others may sound or look disjunctive and be prosodically exposed (Auer, 1996), and this may be an orientation to the independent actions carried out through the response.

The rest of the chapter studies in detail these design configurations and relational implications of pre- and post-possible completion co-animation relative to a first animation. Table 5.1 below summarises some of the important differences that will be discussed in this chapter:

	Pre-possible-completion co- animated responses	Post-possible-completion co- animated responses
Onset of incoming	At a juncture space between the two parts of a compound TCU In recognitional or progressional overlap At opportunity spaces after hitches and/or long and silent gestural holds.	At or just after a transition-relevance space In transitional overlap
Syntactic and semantic orientation	Provision of: -projected second component of compound TCU, or terminal item -projected semantic element of contrast, dichotomy, implication Evocation of relationally shared common ground or previously-referred to material	Tied to first animation as a(n): Extension: accounts, or second/third parts of lists Reformulation: paraphrases, or upgraded formulations Formulations: gists, upshots, explication of stance

Prosodic and gestural-postural orientation processes	<p>Integration: incoming following perceptually isochronous rhythm and beat gestures; following release of gestures or return to mutual gaze</p> <p>Continuation: continuation of the line of declination of final contours</p> <p>Adjustment and synchrony: close overall timing of overlapped contributions and gestural matching.</p>	<p>Integration: incoming following perceptually isochronous rhythm and beat gestures; following release of gestures or return to mutual gaze</p> <p>Continuation: furthering of line of declination or continuation of rhythmic pattern</p> <p>Matching/mirroring: re-doing of pitch contours, shifts in pitch range, voice quality, rhythmic scansion, gestural trajectories.</p> <p>Upgrading: re-doing of pitch contours with higher or lower pitch/loudness, tenser or hyperarticulation, lengthening of segments or features</p>
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Table 5.1 Summary of positionally-sensitive design differences to be explained in this chapter

5.3 Pre-possible-completion co-animations: Projectability, opportunity spaces, and epistemic access

In Chapter 4, the ways in which first animators mark the shift towards the animation space was discussed. This section will briefly return to the focus on first animators but acknowledging at the same time the role of co-participants in shaping the ongoing and resulting animations. In particular, it will discuss how first animators **create projectability and index opportunity spaces** in turns that will retrospectively become part of collaborative animated turn sequences, and on how **epistemic grounding and access** are created in a way that enables co-participants to complete

these ongoing animations successfully, thus, co-animating the same voice, in a way that gets later ratified by A.

Responsive animations are also scrutinised for their **coherence, fittedness and timing**, which is what contributes to their hearability as co-animated completions. Particularly, this section will focus on the two pre-possible-completion configurations found in the collection, with responsive co-animations happening either in overlap, suspending the one-at-a-time rule (**choral productions**) or in the clear (**anticipatory/terminal-item completions**), and they are the result of A's creation and B's prompt grasping of opportunities for these early incomings.

5.3.1 Timing and duration of co-animated completions

This section will focus on the most common type of pre-completion co-animation: choral productions. Durationally, these responsive co-animations tend to be fleeting, but they reveal levels of mutual adjustment and temporal synchrony, with any temporal mismatches orienting to epistemic entitlement differentials or other contingencies of the here-and-now. As later examples will demonstrate, these choral co-animations often come in on beat (particularly when patterns of perceptual rhythmicity are established during first animations) in terminal items or before the second part of a compound TCU, or "opportunistically", when hitches occur during the first animation.

Those cases in which the completion of an ongoing TCU is done as a simultaneous start, and following Walker (2016), also those cases in which the start is not strictly simultaneous will still be considered to be choral, as long as they happen "where participants are in speakership orientation rather than monitoring the ongoing talk" (Walker, 2016:300), this is, the "blind spot" (Jefferson, 1986) within the 200 ms window

experimentally found for processing (Levinson, 2014) - a bit of a wider range, compared to the 40 ms Cummins (2003) has found for forced synchronisations of reading material at the lab. The co-animated choral productions in this collection show that the onset of joining in ranges from a 10-millisecond lag, all the way to 300 ms³. Delayed entry or lagged exit from overlapping talk is found in cases where there appears to be overlap competition and epistemic differentials - particularly around entitlement- being negotiated. In those cases, it is generally B who finishes first, with A extending final segments or words, as some of the examples (e.g. 5.2, "Don't like it") will later show.

The next example features an achieved synchronised choral production with different wording that shows a co-participant's orientation to the unfolding grammar, by producing both a syntactically and semantically fitted contribution, and one that also orients to the shared epistemic ground. Ivan and Lila, PhD students in Literature, have been discussing the use of writing models to address the challenges of their dual role as creative writers and academic literary critics. During the discussion, Ivan introduces literary readings and what is routinely done in that context, where authors are asked about their influences (line 23) . After a quotative prefacing the citing of that question, Ivan starts the animation of a key question in a reading, which ends up being collaboratively and chorally produced with Lila (line 26-27).

Example 5.4 MCY11LAPTOP "Influences" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

24 IVA [and ʔany -time = any `time you] go to a ´reading, (0.5)
25 LIL [eʔh° (`da:mn;)]
26 IVA oh one of the `questions is `usually -like

³ These values are based on the cases where there are separate-channel recordings of speakers. The other recordings were assessed and aligned through an analysis of the timing of articulatory gestures visible from the muted video, but are still deemed unreliable. However, it is believed that participants' perception of durational synchrony may compensate for some of the temporal differences that instrumental analyses identify.

27 ^o::h like [what are your inspi`rations]
28 LIL [what are your `influe:nces]
29 IVA [yeah `in]fluence ^isnt it;
30 LIL [`ye:ah;]
31 hahaha

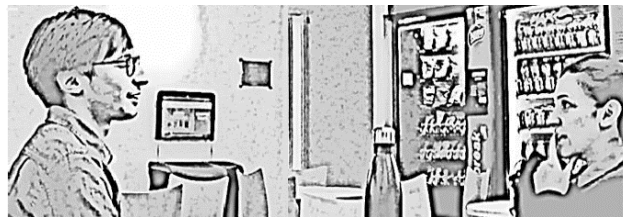
Lila's contribution orients to the mention of "question" and offers a question-formatted animation on beat, at a fitted position after Ivan's quotative is presented, in a shape that coincides with Ivan's own question. Even though Lila's contribution comes after Ivan's animation has started ("oh, like"), gestural analysis shows Lila's readiness of articulation after the quotative preface (line 26):

Example 5.4 MCY11LAPTOP "Influences" (GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)

```

26 IVA oh one of the `questions is `usually *-like=
    iva                                     *looks up
27      =+^o::h                            +[what are your inspi`rations]

```



lil +opens mouth-----+

However, the wording provided by Ivan is found to be a repairable (line 28) and leads to a redoing in a mocking way (line 31) that is further co-animated as a joint humorous episode by Lila (line 34), who later escalates the level of ridicule, eventually resulting in another sequence of co-animation (lines 40-44;49-50).

Example 5.4 MCY11LAPTOP "Influences" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)

32 IVA `what are your inspi`rations;
33 LIL hahaha
34 IVA ¯uh:m
35 LIL (tell me) a-bout your `hopes and `dreams,
36 IVA and like they ^a:ll; = they always `have them,

```

37      [ˈso:;; ]
38 LIL  [ˈye:ah,]
39      (0.5)
40 IVA  (ivan too) i -me:an
41 LIL  its like ↑`no; = i dont `read anythi[ng; °?ha           ]
42 IVA                                     [i dont `have a]ny
43      influences;
44 LIL  [i ´actually, = only just (learned) to read ~yesterday,]
45 IVA  [hahahahaha                                           ]
46 IVA  [hahahahaha ]
47 LIL  [hahahahahaha] °hh
48 IVA  [hahahha                                             ]
49 LIL  [↑`me. (.) i am my ↓own ↓↓`infs.:]
50      (.) ↑walt `whitman. = of ↓`kosmos.
51 IVA  hahahahaha (.)
52 LIL  °hh ha
53      °hh
54 IVA  ↑what is this `walt whitman in ´kosmos thing?
```

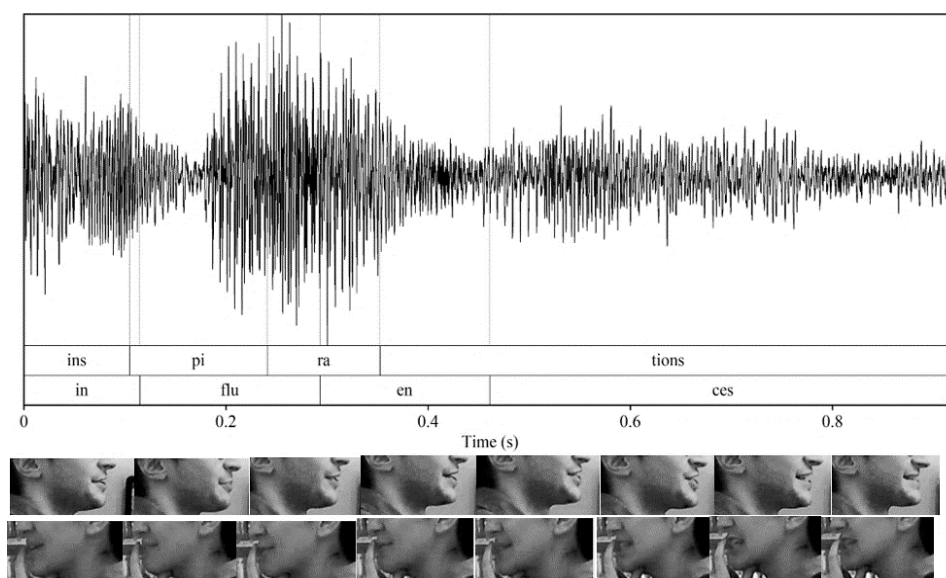
In choral productions it is not only the syntagmatic dimension that becomes relevant, but also the paradigmatic similarity. A comparison between both concurrent versions in this and other examples of choral productions finds that the wording of both simultaneous versions can be identical or unproblematically synonymous, as they are generally taken to have been equivalent and appropriate, even when the wording may not be strictly equal. However, miscalculations can become interactionally relevant, and this reveals that even during overlapping speech, co-participants are seen to be monitoring each other's talk.

Monitoring practices are, in fact, mutual, as the post-choral production repair by Ivan reveals. This mutual monitoring also centres around the timing of the overlapped contributions. In both CA and experimental studies (Cummins, 2002, 2003, 2012; Cummins & Varga, 2014.; Lerner, 2002; Pfänder & Couper-Kuhlen, 2019) participants

are seen to speed up their tempo or produce lexical compression to be able to “catch up” with the unfolding completion targets (Lerner 1996). In this way, they display an orientation to finishing within the same projected turn space. Mutual gaze may have aided the identification of the articulatory difference in this case, but what is interesting to note is that Lila also adjusts her production,⁴ given that the production of her [e:] sound in “influences” is lengthened, coinciding with the accentuation of the stressed syllable in “inspiRations”, rendering something like [ˈɪmflu,e:nsəz], as was verified through frame-by-frame playing of the video (see time-aligned figure 5.2 below). It is, in fact, Lila’s adjustment that seems to contribute to the close time alignment of both productions.

Example 5.4 MCY11LAPTOP "Influences" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

26 IVA oh One of the `QUESTions is `Usually -like
27 ^O::h like [whAt are your inspi`Rations]
28 LIL [<<fals, h> whAt are your `INflue:nces>]
29 IVA [yEah <<acc>`IN]fluence ^ISNT it;>
30 LIL [`YE:AH;]



⁴ The lack of separate channel recordings is acknowledged as a limitation for this claim.

Figure 5.2 Time-aligned version of Lila and Ivan's articulation of "inspirations/influences" on a waveform.

The lack of a dual-channel recording of this case does not allow for more reliable independent representations, but perceptually, both have been heard to be produced with the same falling pitch contours up to the production of the noun -irrespective of the accentual difference between *InspIRAtions* and *INfluEnces*-. Whereas Ivan's version bears a falling tone, Lila's is a harmonic version of Ivan's in a falsetto range. Lila's prosodic design marks a clear disjunction from the here-and-now away from her modal voice, showing her orientation to an animation being projected, but produces a contour that does not present her contribution as a candidate, but as a genuine completion that indexes independent access to the issue being discussed. It is, in fact, her version that is treated to have been appropriate, as the subsequent repair reveals.

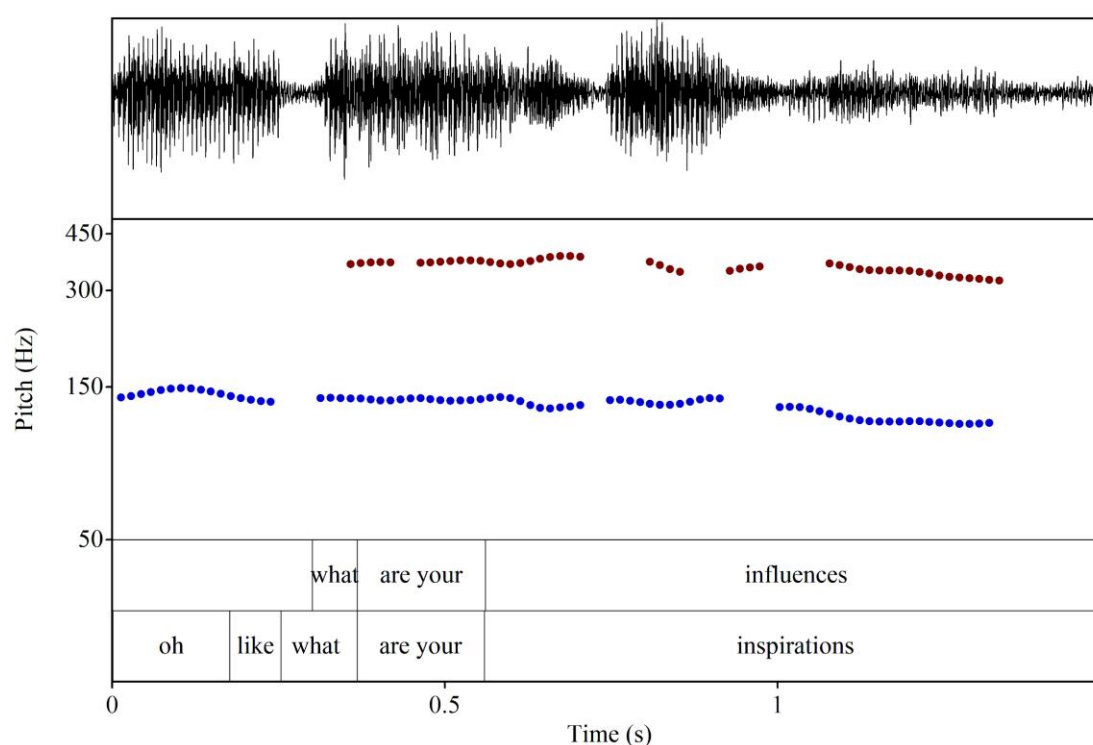


Figure 5.3 f0 (Hz log) trace of the choral co-animation.

The next example (5.5) does not feature the same kind of temporal synchronisation that most other co-animated choral productions in the collection reveal, and within the group of choral productions, this is one of two not neatly synchronised cases which interestingly enough happen during an A-event (Labov & Fanshel, 1977; Pomerantz, 1980), a telling of events where B is K- (Heritage, 2012b). It would seem to be the case that temporal issues during these overlapped productions are forms of managing epistemic entitlement, with the K+ participant completing their production in a more extended period of time, outlasting the co-animator, and not producing an explicit confirmation of B's production. Therefore, unlike other choral productions, they do not act as if they are made to "go second" and confirm what was said on their behalf.

B's animation can continue the syntactic and semantic string as it has been proposed by A, as well as orient prosodically to an ongoing string. The following example shows how co-participants orient to projected second parts through not only the deployment of intonation contours that complete the trajectory of the ongoing compound TCU but also through an accentuation pattern of items. Alice is telling her friend Bruce about her dread of writing lit reviews (not shown), and is, at this point, reporting a meeting with her supervisor in which they discussed this topic:

Example 5.5 MCY06LAKE "Don't like it" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
12 ALI i (`went i went to `se:e my tute?)=
13     =like my super(visor `yesterday;
14     and `i was like- (`justin h°)
15     i ↑dɒnt `laɪk ɪt = i dɒnt ʌndə↓`stænd ɪt =
16     =i dɒnt laɪk (dɔɪŋ) ↓`lɪt rɪvjuːz;=
17     =`he said; = ↑`wɪ dɒnt juː `laɪk ɪt.
18     (i said) i dɒnt i dɒnt nəʊ ^wɪ dɒnt [laɪk ɪt;] °h (0.3)
19 BRU                                     [hahaha ]
20     i juːst [↓`nəʊ i dɒnt laɪk ɪt;]
21 ALI           [i juːst nəʊ i dɒnt ^liːk ɪt.
22     i `nəʊ θæt ɪt fɪlz mi wɪθ = `driːd ænd `fiə ænd `hɒrər;
```


Alice's animation in line 18 projects a contrast, with a focal accent on "why" and rise-fall ending in mid-range and an inbreath, and is not produced with a focal accent on "know", which could have perhaps projected a possible turn end. Bruce orients to this contrast in a number of ways. First, he produces a completion in line 20 of the implication in Alice's projected two-part TCU (line 18), which Alice joins in in overlap 0.36 seconds through Bruce's co-animation (line 21, also see figure 5.4).

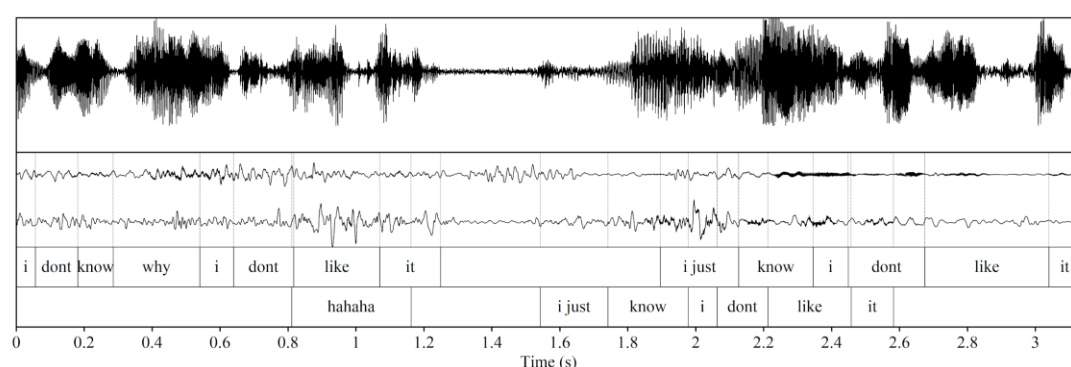


Figure 5.4 Waveforms (Top: mono, bottom: dual channel)⁵ of the co-animated segment, showing the alignment of verbal material.

The co-animated segment (lines 20-21) comes after Bruce has provided an affiliative response of laughter -fitted to a recipient role-, and his anticipatory completion is the second part of what retrospectively becomes a compound TCU that establishes a contrast between not knowing why she doesn't like it, but just knowing that is the case of the contrast ("why" in line 18, "know" in line 20).

Bruce's accentual pattern also orients to the contrast set up, as his version offers a narrow focus reading (Cruttenden, 1997), with the focus accent on "know" and de-accenting the repeated information "like it", thus indexing his access through Alice's

⁵ The addition of the mono version of the picture is due to the perturbations of mic failure in the independent channels, which makes the visualisation of the alignment otherwise difficult. The measurements of the alignment were still done using the independent channels, as the perceptual information has not been majorly affected.

own projected contrast. Bruce also continues the line of declination with a production that is lower than Alice's end-point (starting 2 semitones lower).

Alice's version indexes greater independence in that first it does not feature temporal synchrony, outlasting Bruce's production, and also in that it re-accentuates "like it", contextualising the insistence (Cruttenden, 1997) of her disliking stance towards lit reviews, and uses a falling tone, also differing from Bruce's fitted completion. Alice's volume and pitch are also highly increased in her co-animation during the overlap, starting 15 semitones over the end-point of her prior animated TCU, reminiscent of markers of turn-competition (French & Local, 1986).

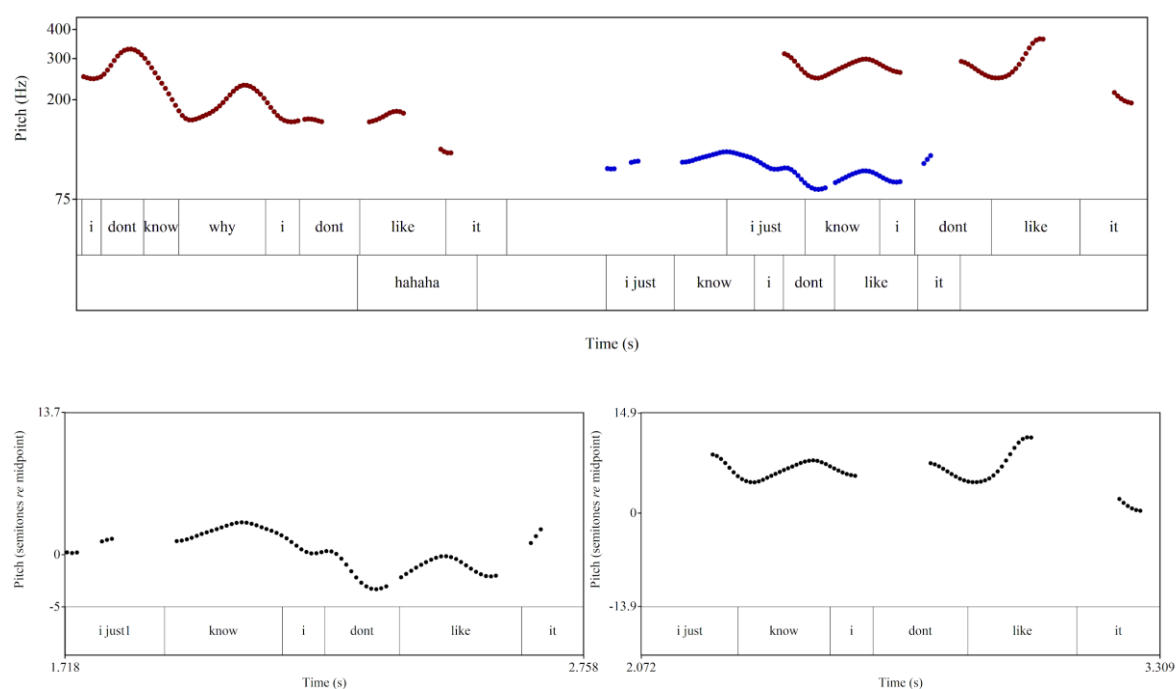


Figure 5.5 f0 traces of the co-animated production: above, in Hz log; below, in semitones, scaled to their own registers.

Overall, in this sub-collection of pre-completion co-animation, the resulting temporal incoming, durational synchronisation and appropriateness of content of the co-animation -as may be ratified by A in third position- is format-tied to the design of A's first animation. The co-animation by B orients to A's unfolding grammar, prosodic, and

gestural-postural design, as this section has started to show, and to how much access to the direction the TCU was taking B has had at the point of their incoming. Therefore, in order to study how these co-productions come to happen, we will next focus on the expectations and possibilities enabled by **projection**, that is, of how “earlier parts of turns, turn-constructive units (...) and the like adumbrate, foreshadow or project aspects of later possible productions” (Schegloff, 1984a:267), particularly, of the “projection spaces” (ibid) that A’s choices in lexico-grammar, phonetics, and gesture, create, and how B’s display of attention and availability contribute to this being a jointly “prepared space” (Schegloff, 1984; Streeck, 1995) for the co-animation to happen. Our attention in the next section is turned to syntactic, semantic and prosodic projectability, as they appear to be the most relevant resources in pre-emptive completion co-animations.

5.3.2 Projectability in first animations: providing access and indexing opportunity spaces

Part of the challenge for a co-participant engaging in pre-emptive completion is to “get it right”, more so because unlike the cases of pre-emptive completion in the literature, the full content of the completed turn is not anchored in the here-and-now, and as established earlier, many of these co-animators are often K- regarding the animated content. B’s chances of success may be increased as the distance towards a completion point decreases, with possible turn-ending formulations becoming potentially more predictable. However, these resulting co-animations seem to contravene these risks and come at points that may be relatively safer, first, because they happen at **terminal items, or on second parts of compound TCUs where the upcoming syntactic structures are projectable**, second, and more importantly, because they are seen to draw on epistemic ground that has been built earlier on in talk, either through **semantic repetition or contrast**.

Syntax is generally the most widely described “projection device” (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2017:41) behind collaborative productions, as what is produced as the result of the joint construction is a single syntactic unit -what we will claim also happens at the relational level, with participants momentarily associating into a single social unit through co-producing the same “voice”.

Because of both the moment of the incoming and the resulting constructions, these pre-emptive completions provide evidence for grammar as an emergent and emerging phenomenon that develops online and incrementally in interaction (Auer, 2009; Auer & Pfänder, 2011; Hopper, 2011). The permeability, emergence, and co-construction of syntactic units as the result of online monitoring of a TCU unfolding has been observed early in CA history by Sacks (1992) and his focus on the sentence as a “process”:

“...such a fact as that persons go about finishing incomplete sentences of others with syntactically coherent parts would seem to constitute direct evidence of their analyzing an utterance syntactically in its course, and having those results available to them during the production of such a sentence, so that they can use to complete it.”

(Sacks, 1992: 651)

Completions can happen on pre-completion points on almost final items where completion is seen as impending (**terminal-item completion**, Lerner, 1996b). These are words or phrases of “heightened projectability of the trajectory of the turn” (Pfänder & Couper-Kuhlen, 2019), since they make up a more restricted class of paradigmatic possibilities for the incipient co-animator, if contrasted with the completion of compound TCUs restrictions that have been put in place by A’s animation. As a “recognition point” (Jefferson, 1973), this constitutes a “safer” space to come in, and this is enhanced by the fact that all terminal items in the collection are in

some synonymous or verbatim form, traceable to earlier talk or invoked common ground.

This case illustrates B's use of an already-negotiated item to complete the animation. Angie has been discussing her academic performance with her friend Karen. At this point, Angie brings up her feelings about her efforts during the first year, anticipating that she "did stress" herself "a bit too much" (line 9), and then produces a concession and introduces her thoughts again but as a Self-animation (line 16). Karen completes this in overlap by referring back to the issue of being over-stressed (line 17), but in a form that skip-connects, grammatically, to an earlier point in Angie's TCU, part of the shared epistemic ground already created. Karen's contribution is confirmed by Angie really early, in recognitional overlap.

Example 5.6 MCY07BOTTLE "Stressed" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
02 ANG but i mean like when it gets to (0.37)
03   like when i (look back) to ~first year,
04   (with my? `dont get me `wrong;
05   im `happy i put the `work (in);=
06   im ↓happy i did `well.
07   but i ~me:an (0.8) th ?
08   it? i know it = it doesnt really `count.
09   but i ^did stress myself out; = a bit too `much;
10   for `saying that; (0.3)
11   it `is important = to do ~well
12   and put the `effort in;=
13   =because (when we ~bui:lt)
14   but i just look `back;
15   and i ~think
16   ↑`why: was i getting myself in`such; ~li[ke]
17 KAR                                     [s:]o::[^stre    ]ssed.
18 ANG                                     [its `true.]
```

On the other hand, syntactically, anticipatory completions are most frequently in the collection the result of projectability built by A's production of **two-part or compound TCUs**, the second part of which is produced by B. The first of the elements in a compound TCU, the preliminary, "projects, in its course, and prior to the onset of a final component, that a two-part unit is underway" (Lerner & Takagi, 1999:53). The production of a preliminary provides a place for the final component to start, and also proposes a possible form that that component can take (Hayashi, 2012).

5.3.2.1 Projectable structures I: the [Quotative] + [Quote] compound TCU format

The co-animations in this collection present a variety of formats which do not necessarily fit so neatly into the grammatical formats of pre-emptive completions characterised in the literature. The typically-described formats include multi-clausal utterances such as, for example, [If X + then Y] or [Quotative + Quote]. To begin with, it needs to be highlighted that in spite of quotation being a usual arena for anticipatory completions to take place (Lerner and Takagi, 1999; Lerner, 1996b, Lerner, 2004, Hayashi, 2012) pre-emptive completions of animations are not as frequent a practice (only 21% of the whole collection), and they very rarely happen in the format described in the literature, i.e. [Quotative] + [Pre-emptive content of quote], and when they do, they result in choral productions with different degrees of onset timing relative to the introductory quotative (see example 5.5 "Influences" above). The excerpt below illustrates another of the very few cases where B co-animates at a juncture point between the preface and the animation, or as in this case, shows an orientation to this boundary.

Ivan is expressing his surprise at how young one of their fellow PhDs, David, looked, especially since he himself is very young for a regular PhD student (line 5). His friend Lila offers the actual age (line 8), which leads to Ivan offering an account (lines 12-13) for his having miscalculated, and a report of his reactions to having heard David was

even younger than him (14-16), which becomes a co-animation sequence with Lila. Ivan's self-animation (line 16) is joined by a competing animation with a late verbal incoming (line 17). An analysis of gesture, however, shows that the articulatory gesture for "oh" starts immediately after the quotative, but it is not voiced until later during Ivan's self-animation.

Example 5.7 MCY11LAPTOP "Young" (GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)

```

05 IVA oh like ^david; h° (.) he was like twenty'two or something?
06 LIL `no:: = no [no no::h° ]
07 IVA [how `old is he.]
08 LIL he:s twenty 'four,
09 IVA `oh he 'is?
10 LIL hes:: (.) [`yeah. = actually `younger than; ]
11 IVA [o:h `right. = im a year`older then.]
12 it seem? = it `seemed like i was (x) `older be`cause::(0.5)
13 he hes like a'bove me?
14 and when i [heard that he was ^`young]er than me:? (0.31)
15 LIL [`yeah. = 'yeah, ]
16 IVA i was li[ke] = +thats ri~di[+culous, ]
17 LIL [°h]

                                +opens mouth---+
                                with rounded lips #fig5.6
lil
18 [oh my`god;=hes]:[nine^t]e:e[n: ]
19 IVA [ʔuh°ʔuh°] [ʔuh°]
20 IVA [hahahaha]
21 LIL [hahahah]
22 IVA [fresh] from the ^wo::mb::;
23 LIL [erm ]
24 `ye(ʔh°)e:(ʔh°):(ʔh°)eh °ihh hahahah

```



Figure 5.6 Lila's pre-emptive opening of her mouth (line 17)

This B-animation acts like an upgraded form of the ridicule and surprise projected by Ivan, but one that extends the notion of “young” to an improbable age for a PhD student. Lila’s intervention is taken up by Ivan later on, who continues the animation upgrading the ridicule with the idiomatic expression “fresh from the womb” (line 22).

5.3.2.2 Projectable structures II: interactionally-constructed contrasts and rhythm

Most other items in the collection exhibit the animated completions happening more frequently *within* an animated turn and not at the juncture between the quotative and the quote. So in this sub-collection of pre-emptive B-animations, it is most often the case that B does not generally provide the animated content of A’s talk, but rather *completes A’s ongoing animation*. Most co-animations constituting anticipatory completions in the clear or in overlap exhibit compound, two-part TCUs, whose second parts are furnished, generally unproblematically, by co-participants. This section will answer how in pre-emptive completion co-animations, co-participants safely provide these second parts. The answer lies on the successful creation of projectability and access. As Schegloff (1984) specifies,

“a great deal of the talk in interaction arrives on a prepared scene. By the time any particular bit of it is produced, many of its aspects have been prefigured,

sometimes in quite distinct ways" (p.291)

In this collection, the preparedness of the scene is due to the early creation, in prior moments of the activity, of **pragmatic and semantic dichotomies, contrasts and implications, or the evocation of shared common ground also establishing "Us vs Them" contrasts** that co-animators orient to in their completions, and which will thus lead to momentary association at key points during these social activities, as Chapters 6 and 7 will reveal.

In all the examples previously analysed and the upcoming ones, the items that become part of the co-production are part of the epistemic ground built and topicalised in prior talk, either mentioned earlier on verbatim, or in synonymous ways. What is more, as the "Young" (5.10) and "Influences" (5.6) cases above reveal, co-participants are actively monitoring the ongoing string for "opportunity spaces" for their incoming, and at times, the projectability of these spaces can be created by prosodic and gestural complexes, such as a combination of perceptually isochronous rhythm and beat gestures.

The next example illustrates both the creation of interactional contrasts and the further "preparedness of the scene" through complex co-speech gestures and rhythmic beats. In this extract, co-participants co-animate the exact same wording, resulting in an animation within an animation, the pronunciation of a word being cited in reported speech. Sam is telling her friend Evie about the stone of "Scone" found in Edinburgh castle (line 9), and its actual pronunciation ([skɜ:n], line 11). After assessing the pronunciation as "much better" than the pronunciation [skɒn], thus topicalising the pronunciation issue, and receiving Sam's agreement (lines 14), Evie introduces with a click a footing shift, enacting imaginary dialogue with people not familiar with the "fun fact", asking the fictitious audience familiar with the cultural debate in the UK as to

whether “scone” is produced as [skɒn] or [skəʊn], only to reveal that there is a third option, [skʌ:n] (line 17), one which co-participants would not be able to anticipate, which is chorally produced.

Example 5.8 MCY20MUG “Scoon” (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

02 SAM you should tOtally go to ^Edinburgh ^CASTle, (or)
03 (or into) ^STIRling?
04 i really `LIKE stIrling [^CASTle?]
05 EVI [x xx] to Edinburgh ^CASTle?
06 SAM theyre `BOTH like; = com`PLETE; (.) CASTles?
07 EVI yEah `NO. = i wEnt to `Edinburgh.
08 but i dIdnt (Enter) the ^CASTle?
09 SAM ((lip smack)) `YEAH. = theyve gOt the:ir stOne of ^DEStiny?
10 (0.7) ((click)) (1.2)
11 the `s:tOne of `SCOON; h°
12 its spElled ^SCONE, = but ↓yOu say ^SCOON,
13 EVI <<cr, l, p>`SCOON is bETter than ↓`SCO(?h°)NE.>[hh°]
14 SAM [^YE:A:H,]
15 EVI Oh i `LOVE i?; ((click))
16 **Is it ^SCONE ((skɒn)) = or ↑`SCONE ((skəʊn)).**
17 **`NO. (.) [<<f>`S::COON ((skʌ:n)) >] ʔh°aha**
18 SAM [<<f>`S::COON ((skʌ:n)) >]
19 [yEah ^YE:AH? haha]
20 EVI [hahahahah]

The citing of the word “scoon” at the end of the animation is highly predictable, as the “scoon” pronunciation has been foregrounded, anticipated by the contrast [skɒn~skəʊn~skʌ:n], and the perfect synchrony in the production of “scoon” proves the existence of “the availability of a place that has been prepared for a specific terminal item and thus furnishes the resources for co-production” (Lerner, 2002:230). This joint answer in the imagined scenario positions both Evie (previously K- about the

pronunciation) and Sam (initially K+), as a single party of associated knowing participants, against other parties who are presented as unknowing, and this is part of this complicit moment of shared play and association.

This highly-synchronised co-production relies on the topicalisation of the pronunciation of "scoon" as opposed to the two versions of "scone", but also, on a combination of prosodic and gestural features of Evie's design of her animation that Sam is seen to be actively orienting to, and these are described below in more detail, as they are representative of other chorally produced co-animations.

The creation of perceptually isochronous gestalts is one of the ways in which current speakers may develop projectability in their turns and enable on-time, on-beat incomings from their co-participants (Auer, Couper-Kuhlen, & Di Luzio, 1999.; Auer et al., 1999; Szczepek-Reed, 2012). Rhythmic structures also contribute to the marking of coherence across turns and within sequences (Couper-Kuhlen, 1990; Couper-Kuhlen & Auer, 1991; Erickson, 1992). In this sense, the interaction of rhythm in speech and beat gestures as pikes of multimodal activity has been described as one of the forms that lead to a greater entrainment across speakers (Cummins & Port, 1996; Loehr, 2004, 2012; Ogden & Hawkins, 2015).

What participants take as clues to come in includes speech or bodily rhythmic templates interacting in special ways with embodied actions. Beat gestures are seen to be aligned with accented material -though with different levels of precision in the alignment, see McClave, 1994-, creating an embodied choreography or director-like orchestration of the material that eventually gets co-animated, especially in choral productions (Pfänder & Couper-Kuhlen, 2019). This is what is known as **prosodic integration, or entrainment**.

Sam and Evie's synchronised start responds to a number of speech and gestural alignment, or pikes of activity (Loehr, 2007), shared by both participants. Evie's production is highly rhythmical, with each accented syllable ("scone", "scone", "no") separated from the following in intervals that differ in no more than 15%.

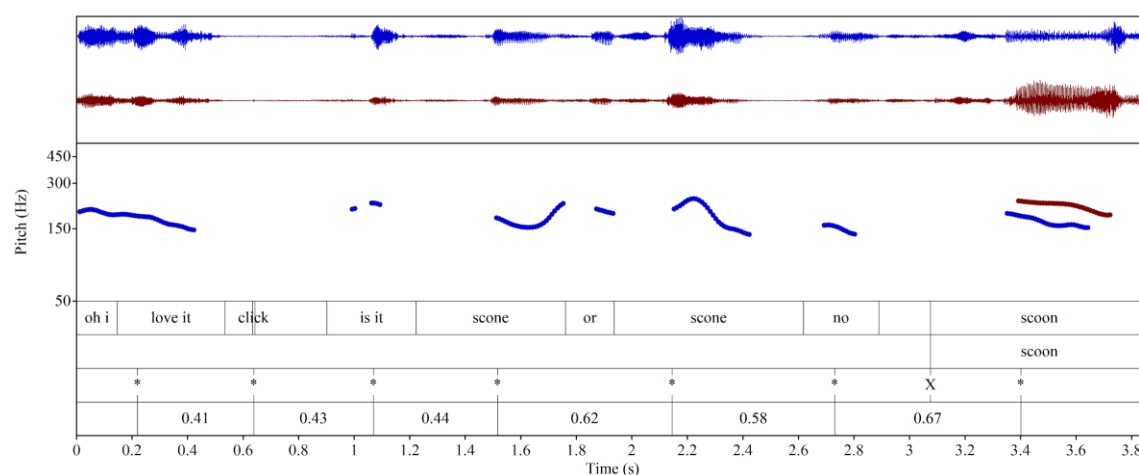



Figure 5.7 Waveforms, f0 traces (Hz log), beats and measured intervals (in seconds) of co-animated sequence (lines 16-18)

Closely time-aligned with her stressed syllables for "scone", "scone", "no", and "scoon", there are four postural and head-direction shifts that can be considered "beat gestures". Almost iconically, each of the pronunciation options provided in the question has its own bodily orientation (left vs. right, compare case 5.8 "Don't like it"), and this constitutes a form of embodying the contrast. Each of these shifts begins before the accented syllable and reaches the peak of the trajectory with the accented syllable, making a clear prosodic-gestural construction:

Example 5.8 MCY20MUG "Scoon" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

15 EVI *Is it *`SC*ONE* ((skɒn)) = *or †`SCONE* ((skəʊn)).
 evi *RH point-,,,,,,* *raises RH>
 *turns and looks R *turns L.-----*turns R>
 16 *`NO. * (.) [<<f> *`S::COON ((skʊ:n)) >] *ʔh°aha
 evi >*-RH point,,,,,,,,,,,,,*
 >*turns R *leans forward-----*
 17 SAM [<<f>`S::COON ((skʊ:n)) >]



SAM [<<f>`S::COON s:kʊ:n >]
 EVI oh i `LOVE i?; (click) Is it `skɒn or †`skəʊn. `NO; (.) [<<f>`S::COON s:kʊ:n >]haha
 Beats * * 1* 2* 3* 4*

However, rhythm is not just a single speaker's phenomenon, as this case demonstrates: simultaneously during Evie's animation, Sam is marking the three beats before the choral production with her right thumb.

Example 5.8 MCY20MUG "Scoon" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

16 EVI +Is it +`SCONE + ((skɒn))
 sam +RH down +RT folded rub + raises RT>
 = or +†`SCONE + ((skəʊn))
 sam > -----+RT folded rub +raises RT>
 17 +`NO. + (.)
 sam >+sharp RT folded rub +raises RT
 [<<f>`S::COON ((skʊ:n)) >] ʔh°aha
 18 SAM [<<f>+`S::COON ((skʊ:n))>]+
 sam +folded RT rub-----+



Just before the start of "scoon", Evie has leaned forward and secured Sam's mutual gaze, and both produce a lengthened [s:] with a simultaneous start. Both productions are very closely aligned in duration, and they both feature a falling intonation contour, but with a difference in pitch height, Sam's being higher than Evie's, both in absolute and relative terms (Sam's production is slightly higher than her midline). The duration of the word sees internal duration differences: Evie's vowel is longer and her nasal portion becomes a sniffing laugh while Sam's vowel and nasal stretch for longer, overlapping with her laugh (figure 5.8).

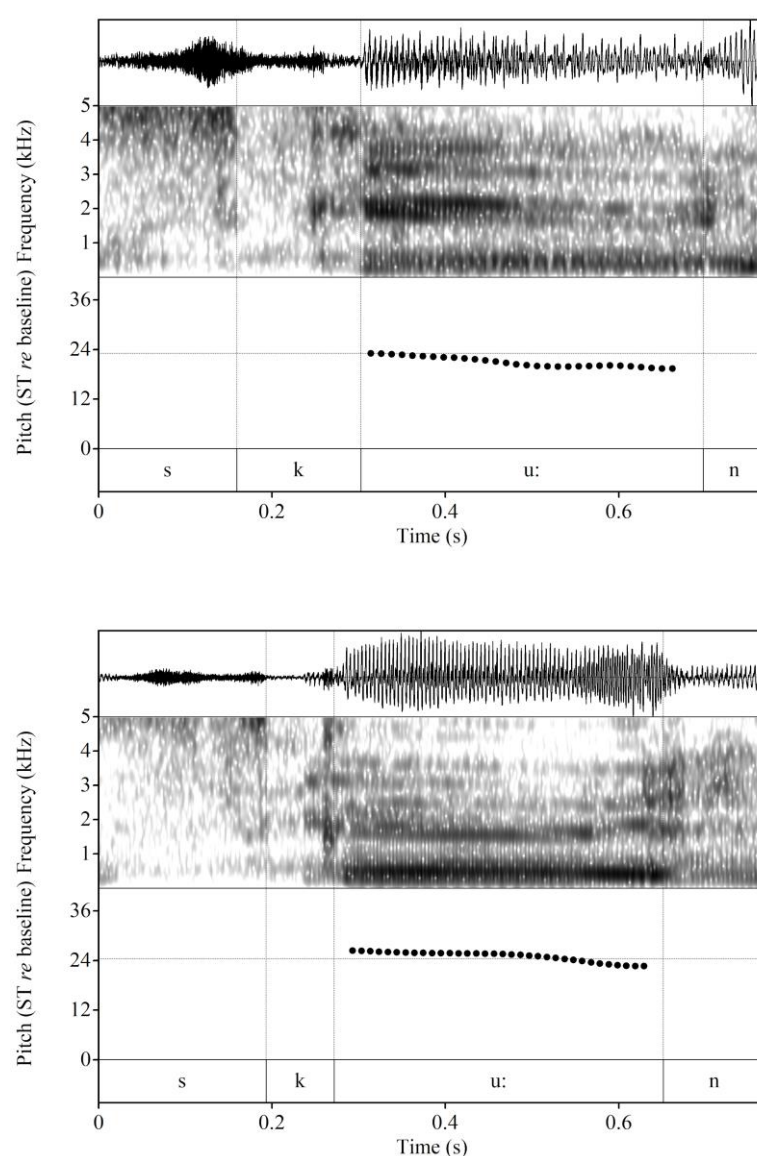


Figure 5.8 Time-aligned productions of "scoon" by Evie (duration 0.62 secs) and Sam (0.75 secs). Waveform, spectrogram, and f0 traces (semitones re: baseline).

The "Scoon" example demonstrates how co-participants orient to jointly-established contrasts while also monitoring prosodic and gestural configurations for upcoming opportunity spaces, all of which contribute to high levels of synchrony.

The prior cases showed completions based on interactionally-created contrasts based on verbal material mentioned earlier on, either verbatim or in a synonymous version, which co-participants are said to evoke and produce in their responsive animations happening at pre-possible completion points. The following example exhibits a co-animation that introduces a list which is also based on a contrast. This case will show how common ground that may not have been mentioned earlier in the interaction but is shared among co-participants (as in case 5.4 "Influences") becomes evoked in a way that invites joint reminiscing as a means of establishing some epistemic ground, which then may become explicated as a co-animation.

Carol and Mia have been talking about a common friend and referring to a recent meeting with him (not shown). In line 2, Carol initiates a stepwise transition of topic, by referring to "the conversation with his mother", presented with a definite article that marks this as a recognisable story for both, even though there is no explicit reference to this anywhere earlier in the recorded conversation. This animation differs from other cases in that it is nominalised, foregrounded as the "first thing they would say to me is" (line 6), and presenting quotes acting as items on a list:

Example 5.9 RCEBENCH "Wear" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
02 CAR i just ↑`thought that the conver↓`sation with his ↓`mother
03     was so ´funn(h°)y, hahaha °ihh
04     hahaha
05     (i get x) o´kay, = the first `thi::; = i dont `know. (1.3)
06     m: `my parents::; = the ~first thing,=
```

```
07      = they would `say to me is: (0.6)
08      ((name)) how did it `go an::d;
09      well `don::e an:d; ((click))=
10 MIA =`yeah.
11 CAR ^the[n:]
12 MIA      [`n]:ot; = wha2 what didyou `wear, hehehe
13      [hahaha]
14 CAR[`ye:ah;]
15 MIA °h did you ↑^speak to your parents `yesterday.
```

The quoted segments of dialogue are part of an interactionally created contrast between their mutual friend's mother and what Mia's parents would do in a similar situation. The animated pseudo-direct speech questions by the parents (lines 8-9) are formatted in a way that that keep the original order of the auxiliary and pronoun, so they are not presented as indirectly reported questions, making this a form of free indirect style. The animations are interspersed with discourse particles like "and", which refer to the organisation of the opposition being put forward by Carol in the here-and-now, organised as list items. Each of these list components is produced with averted gaze from Mia, but during each animation and before uttering "and" each time, Carol tilts her head left, returning it to home position for "and", added to the fact that each list element begins with a slight pitch reset (see Figure 5.10). This embodied demarcation contributes to the separation and yet intertwining between the here-and-now and the there-and-then of this hypothetical list of questions.

Example 5.9 RCEBENCH "Wear" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

06 CAR m: `MY parents::; = the *~FIRST thing, = 07 they would `SAY to me is:(0.6)
    car *looks down
08 *(name) hOw did it `GO *an::d;
    car *tilts head L-----,*
09 wEll `DON::E *an:+d; ((click)) =
    car *tilts head L*
    mia +opens mouth
10 MIA *=`YEAH. *
    car *looks @Mia*looks away>
11 CAR =`THEN[: ]
12 MIA *['N]:OT; =+* wha? <<acc> what didyou> +*`WEAR, hehehe
    mia +looks away-----+looks @Car
    car *looks @Mia*looks away *looks @Mia---->
13 +[haha ]ha
    mia +looks away
14 CAR [<<p, br>`YE:*AH;>]
    car *looks away
15 MIA °h did you ↑^SPEAK to your parents `YESTerday.
    
```

After the first two quoted questions, more to come is projected through Carol's trail-off conjunction (line 9), followed by a click and a noticeable blink and responded to with Mia's marker of agreement ("yeah", line 10). This is then followed by "then" with [n] lengthening, potentially projecting another element of the same kind, and with a shift in gaze towards Mia. The boundary of this conjunctive and the beginning of Mia's own [n] in "not" is perceptually almost indistinguishable. In this case, it is a particular segment that enables the seamless integration of the two, in this case, organising voices of a contrast made up of animated items.

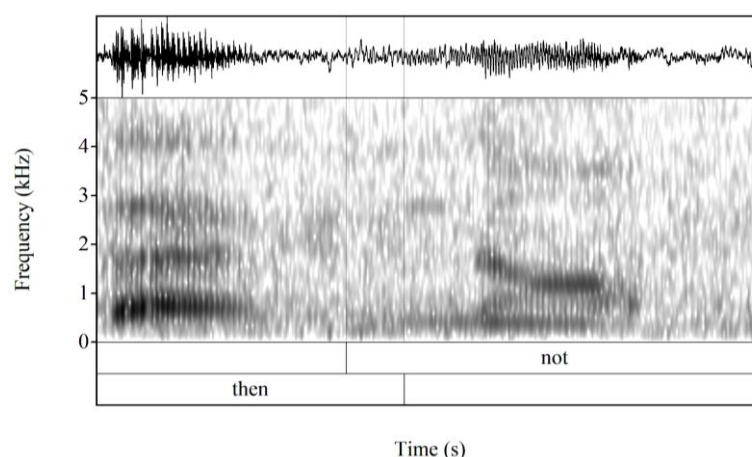


Figure 5.9 Waveform and spectrogram of Carol's "then" and Mia's "not", and overlap of [n] segments.⁶

In other embodied terms, the point of Carol's lengthened [n] is the first moment of mutual gaze engagement, happening as an acknowledgement to Carol's "yeah" which provides the display of understanding, and possibly, the agreement made relevant (see time-aligned film strip in the multimodal transcription 5.9 above), and which is taken by Mia to be an opportunity space where the explication of the contrast is provided. In the same nominalised quote fashion, the co-animation by Mia (line 12) introduces the negative adverb "not" that also belongs in the here-and-now of the framing of the discussion while introducing in direct speech the question that presumably the mother of the male friend they are discussing asked them after a job interview. This ends up being a list, and the third item of the list is provided and in this way the completeness of the bigger structure is oriented to.

Example 5.9 RCEBENCH "Wear" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```

09      wEl1 `DON::E an:d; ((click)) =
10 MIA   =`YEAH.
11 CAR   =`THEN[: ]
12 MIA      [ `N]:OT; =wha? <<acc> what didyou> `WEAR, hehehe
13      [haha                ]ha
    
```

⁶ There unfortunately is not a separate-channel audio of this recording. Impressionistic listening and the inspection of acoustic information led to this approximate segmentation.

14 CAR [<<p, br>`YE:AH;>]

15 MIA °h did you ↑^SPEAK to your parents `YESTerday.

What is more, Mia's completion of the list begins at a pitch height that is relatively higher than the end of Carol's prior list item, and it does not match the pitch contour of the prior two list items, which given that it is the item establishing contrast, it orients to the stance of contrast being put forward. However, this last item ends in a lower and creakier pitch level in comparison to the rest of the list and her own range, and continues the tendency towards declination and the narrowing of the pitch range for each list item, thus prosodically orienting to the ongoing design of the list as a whole, as figure 5.10 below shows.

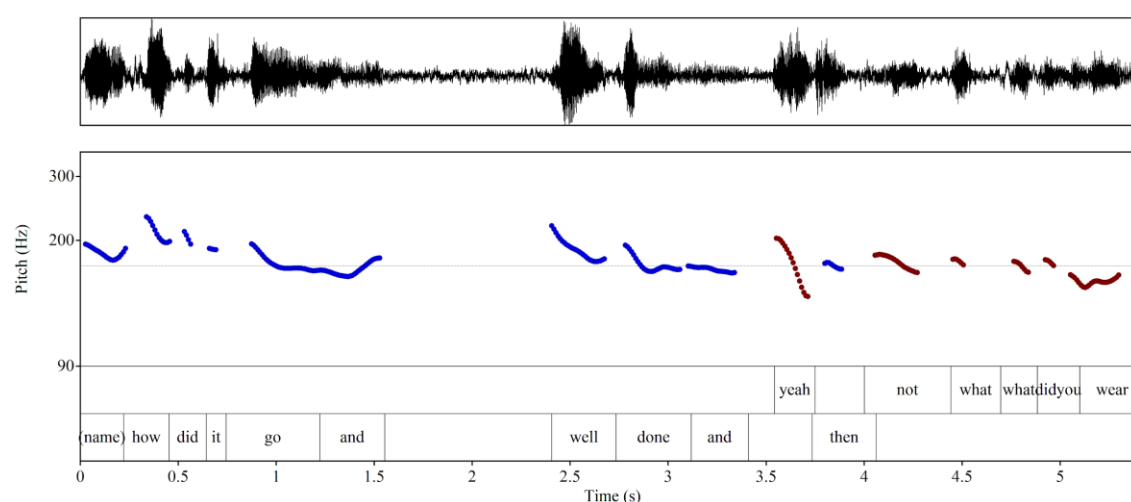


Figure 5.10 Waveform and f0 traces (Hz log) showing the declination in the co-animated list. Pitch span of item 1: 5 ST; item 2: 4 ST; item 3: 2ST. Midline is average for both speakers.

The list of questions is linked with "and", and the introduction of "then" may perhaps have led in the same direction that Mia has taken it, though whereas Mia introduces it as a contrast with "not", there is an unfulfilled, speculative possibility that Carol would have instead organised her list elements in terms of temporal order (hence "then"), that is, the order in which her parents would ask questions about a job interview, rather than the way Mia has presented it, as a question that her parents

wouldn't ask. In any case, Carol's orientation is to this having been appropriate, with an agreement token (line 14) after a moment of shared, complicit laughter, before another stepwise transition of topic that is still tied to "parents" (line 6, line 15).

Therefore, in this case, what is presented as an additive list by A, then becomes, through B's animation, a set of items that get contrasted to a third. As Auer (2005) has put it, "in interaction, participants are essentially co-involved in deciding over the fate of a projected 'next'". In this sense, it was said earlier that the completion by B may affect the ongoing syntactic string, and animated B-completions can also redraw the semantic relations established by A through their animation and their prior talk.

This example has a different structure from the others in that the here-and-now of the argument in place is clearly interspersed with the there-and-then of quoted content, together with the contrast being set up between two groups: a mother, and the collective of the parents of the speakers. Moreover, in this case in particular, given this interplay of the here-and-now of the present contingencies of interaction, and the framing of the quoted material in the there-and-then of the created animation space, it is clear how the animated list becomes an "object" that is jointly manipulated to create a form of contrast between these two social units. This notion of an animation as an object that becomes co-constructed and thus, co-owned, will be revisited and upheld throughout this thesis.

This example also shows that a B-completion can operate at both a micro and a macro level of projection (Schegloff, 2013): while conjunctionals with lengthened final sounds, for example, may be turn-holding practices (Jefferson, 1980; Local & Kelly, 1986; Local & Walker, 2012) at a macro-level, co-participants may also be orienting to a segment of talk as a list, and monitoring it for its three-partedness, and thus, its completion. In this respect, both Lerner (1996) and Auer (2005) have proven that

projection cannot be just restricted to syntax, as certain action formats and activities can concurrently create projectable second (or third) parts: "there is no clear separation between syntax and interaction: in some cases activity type *and* syntactic type project at the same time" (Auer 2005:28). Whereas in this case the third item was projected, the construction of collaborative lists when it comes to categorising B-activity is actually ambiguous between completion or extensions (see discussion in section 5.4.1 below).

This section has shown how prosody and gesture package and contextualise the turn in progress, contributing to its projectability, and this is evidenced by co-participants orienting to those prosodic and gestural features by either **completing, integrating to, or matching** the rhythm, pitch contour, pitch range and declination, or loudness configurations of the preliminary TCUs (Auer, 1996; Auer et al., 1999; Couper-Kuhlen, 1993; Couper-Kuhlen & Auer, 1991; Local, 2005; Szczepek, 2000b, 2000a; Szczepek-Reed, 2006; Walker, 2004), as well as to their gestural configurations. Complex gaze shifts manage the entries and exits into the animation and the moments of shared appreciation of the co-animated contributions.

Through the building of projectable contrasts and these forms of pre-emptive completion, animations and subsequent co-animations appear to be deployed to exploit the contrasts between a state of affairs or a group, and another group or imagined state of affairs, something already pointed out as a regular function of animation in storytelling by Ehmer (2011). What is more, these contrasts and implications tend to focus on affective or moral states of affairs, which in a way explains why the concern with authenticity is downplayed in co-animations in favour of affiliative issues that co-participants are seen to be co-owning through the animation, a point to be developed in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.3.3 Interim summary

This section has explored pre-possible-completion co-animated responses, analysing their lexico-grammatical, prosodic, and gestural design in terms of their fittedness and timing. It has established that projection is key in the resulting “relational success” of these co-constructions in the following ways:

- a) Co-participants monitor the ongoing turn for opportunity spaces that may result from the indexing of juncture points in compound grammatical structures, temporal structures of prosodic or gestural projection, and/or progressivity issues;
 - i) Temporal aspects of first animations, particularly rhythm, contribute to the identification of opportunity spaces, and durational synchronisation may be used to negotiate epistemic differentials;
- b) A greater part of the resulting co-animated response shows an orientation to forms of syntactic, semantic and prosodic projectability built earlier in talk;
 - i) Pre-emptive animations can result in anticipatory completions or forms of choral production that more often appear as syntactically fitted to prior talk, particularly as terminal-item or compound-TCU completions;
 - ii) Co-animated completions are retrospectively built off first parts projecting a contrast, a dichotomy, or a counterfactual state of affairs, either negotiated earlier in talk or part of common ground that B through the co-animation completes or explicates.
 - iii) Co-participants orient to the prosodic design of first animations, often completing the trajectory of those designs.

This collection of animated pre-emptive completion has provided evidence of the emergent and co-constructed nature of syntactic structures, and in particular, of the possibilities for co-production that arise from the creation of semantic and pragmatic

contrasts, dichotomies, and implicational constructions that project a second part. Co-animators demonstrate understanding and access and make a bid to co-own the resulting productions, either by upgrading the entertainment value (e.g. MCY11LAPTOP “Young”), or being complicit in joining in an ongoing “Us vs Them” contrast being constructed through the deployment of the first animation (e.g. MCY20MUG “Scoon”, RCEBENCH “Wear”).

5.4 Post-possible-completion co-animations: semantic, prosodic, and gestural orientation

This chapter set out to establish how co-animators in responsive position make their contributions hearable as completions or continuations of an about-to-be, or just-finished animation, and discuss how epistemic and agentive differentials are managed in these sequences. Unlike the producers of pre-completion co-animations who need to play to the rules of the grammar of the ongoing A-animation if they wish to align with A, post-possible completion animators have a greater array of resources to choose from, and full access to A’s completed animation, and thus, may display greater agentivity in their design if compared with pre-completion animators. So whereas on the one hand, co-animators in this position may be in a safer epistemic position and have a greater menu of design choices to offer their response, on the other hand, the hearability of this contribution as a co-animation of the same voice is still contingent on levels of similarity or resonance with first animations, and in this lies the distributed-independent agency tension.

The next sections will show that the responsive co-animations in post-completion position have been found to privilege semantic and pragmatic processes over syntax in the marking of coherence, in particular, through **formulation, reformulation, or extension** of the first animation. That is, there is a more independent *transformative*

(Deppermann, 2011b) relation to first animations that is concurrently doing the work of a response, orienting both to demonstrating understanding of the ongoing course of action, and generally matching the affiliative stance projected in prior turns by the first animator. The use of the responsive position and the marking of coherence with prior designs are ways of dealing with the epistemic subordination of “going second” and of satisfying conditional relevance, but on the other hand, the social needs of providing forms of independent agreement (Raymond & Heritage, 2006) are also managed in different ways through these independent transformative designs. As Chapters 6 and 7 will demonstrate, this is also contingent on the epistemic differentials of the different activities and voices animated.

By re-opening the animation space that A has potentially closed, B fulfils the conditional relevance of affiliation and their demonstration of understanding, while re-completing a prior animation, jointly “doing being” the voice that was being done in one or more of these ways:

- explicating the “sense” or the stance in the first animation;
- unpacking a referent or making the content more explicit/precise;
- contributing to the activity in progress by providing an account, a next step/list item, or a move towards closing with the formulation of gist;
- upgrading the level of humour or ridicule.

This section will also show the independent-distributed agency tension in how the prosodic and gestural design of these contributions ties back to first animations in different ways, not only through forms of **integration** through on-beat incomings or lower pitch level beginnings, but also through the **matching** or re-doing of pitch contours, articulatory settings, or gestural trajectories, the **continuation** of contours towards hearable re-completions, or the **upgrading** of pitch or loudness levels or

duration of segmental features, as well as of gestural constructions. The deployment of these gestural and prosodic parameters will simultaneously orient to the coherence and conditional-relevance fulfilment demands that the responsive use of animation entails.

5.4.1 Extensions⁷

This group of co-animated responses involves Other-initiated forms of extension to someone's animation when their turn has been presented as closed, or at moments where TRPs are made projectable, i.e. after the focal accent has been produced. Extensions are practices in which a "first speaker articulates an utterance that is syntactically complete, and the next speaker expands the first speaker's utterance into a longer syntactic unit" (Rühlemann, 2007:100), and this is generally done by adding a subordinate clause, a prepositional phrase, or an adverbial (phrase). The co-participant produces a responsive extension that is at least syntactically dependent to the last TCU produced (through coordination, subordination or embedding), and provides a form of "recompletion" of that turn, reminiscent of the work done through self-increments (Auer, 2010; Couper-Kuhlen, 2012b; Ford, Thompson, & Drake, 2012; Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002; Lerner, 2004b; Luke, Thompson, & Ono, 2012; Schegloff, 2016; Sidnell, 2012; Walker, 2004). Like anticipatory completions, Other-extensions orient to

⁷ A clarification is in order: it could be said that both formulations and reformulations, given their creation of third position slots for confirmation for the original animator, act as collaborative turn sequences, similar to the completions and choral productions mentioned earlier. As they are produced within the animation space, doing being the voice that A has just been doing being, they are, technically speaking, a form of extension and reopening of the prior turn -in the sense that they could have been produced as increments or appositives, appended to prior turns by the same speaker and they exhibit a similar behaviour to self-increments. Arguably, then, *all* cases in this sub-collection would make Other-extensions in that they expand the content of a closed turn, using animation as the link. Nonetheless, in this group, only those co-animations that expand the meaning and action of the first animation instead of paraphrasing or summarising it will be considered extensions.

contiguity, by being placed in an adjacent (next-beat), after a gap, or in recognitional overlap (Cantarutti, 2018).

These B-animations establish a relation of dependence on the first animation with or without an explicit syntactic marker, but what they actually do is to extend the first animation in action terms by introducing **accounts, or the next step of a temporal sequence, or a co-member of a list**. These make the most independent kinds of responses in terms of agency, in that they independently offer elements that continue the initial animation but which are not necessarily part of prior talk, unlike for example, the pre-emptive completions in compound TCUs in prior sections. The next subsections explore these actions and their design.

5.4.1.1 Providing an account

B-animations may introduce an account as an add-on appended to the first animation (Couper-Kuhlen, 1996, 2012b; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2010) and anchored in the there-and-then of the first animation. These accounts are not necessarily explicitly lexico-syntactically marked as an account with “(be)cause” (Couper-Kuhlen, 1996, 2012b) or a similar discourse marker, which is why a brief overview of how accounts are interactionally grounded as such will be made below.

An account here is understood in the two common senses found in CA studies (Bolden & Robinson, 2011; Heritage, 1988; Solberg, 2017): as an explanation, excuse or defensive strategy as a result of dispreference or an accident (Scott & Lyman, 1968), but also the underlying level with which intersubjectivity and action intelligibility is built (Heritage, 1988). Whereas the second level is not explicitly commented on here unless it is made relevant by participants, the morality behind the first level is made explicit in our co-animated accounts. Accounts have been associated with the maintenance of social solidarity and self-other relations, and the negotiation of

identities (Scott & Lyman, 1968), which becomes all the more relevant when co-participants are “doing being” each other. Accounts are used to ‘explain away’ instances of non-compliance (Heritage, 1988), and as such, they manage problematic moral issues. As will be shown in chapters 6 and 7, accounts -together with other forms of co-animation- have a role in the provision of empathetic responses and in the management of self-presentation issues.

In these co-animated extensions, a co-animator is seen to be providing an account for the action carried out by the voice in the first animation. This account is not presented on their own behalfs in the here-and-now but seen to be justifying the action done by the animated figure while at the same time orienting to its relevance in the here-and-now. Thus, figures that are ridiculed are presented with absurd accounts that further the entertainment value, and animations of the voice of A that are part of troubles-tellings and have been found to carry out particular actions are seen to be empathised with, the account functioning as a marker of the reasonability of the action taken in the narrated event.

An overview of this sub-collection shows the accounts and their orientation to animated content:

- a) Jon is re-enacting his pledge to the nurse due to severe back pain. Dan continues the animation:
 - JON: Can you show me any physio exercises and just give me a ton of painkillers > DAN: cause I’m dying (MCY02BAR “Cause I’m dying”, analysed in detail in Chapter 6)
- b) Ivan is mockingly directing the researcher -who is not present- to delete this part of the conversation after his mispronunciation of a word, Lila continues:

- IVA: Strike that from the record > LIL: that's not how I talk. Okay, okay, I was just pretty tired (MCY11LAPTOP "Niche", analysed in detail in Chapter 7)
- c) Evie enacts rural English people in Norman times rebelling against the use of French. Sam accounts for this rebellion after producing a reformulation:
 - EVI: we (do) a lack of masculine and feminine on nouns >SAM: I'm not learning that; we shouldn't be gendering tables (MCY20MUG "French")
- d) Evie and Sam enacting the politician Nick Clegg telling Indian politicians they would not get back the crown diamonds that the UK holds:
 - EVI: Oh no we're not gonna do that; don't be ridiculous > SAM: it was a gift (MCY20MUG "Gift")

The following illustrative example shows two features of this sub-collection of accounts: a) animated accounts may lack explicit subordinate conjunctions, and b) they are accountable actions in themselves. In the following example, Evie brings up the Koh-i-noor diamond feud with India, part of a stepwise transition (Jefferson, 1985; Schegloff, 2007) of topics started with their discussion of the historical English "theft" of the Stone of Scone, the coronation stone of Scotland. Evie produces a topic-recognition proffer (line 3), which is responded to with a nod, and then prefaces both the animation and her scorn through eyebrow raising and interspersed laughter particles (line 4-6), which receives a smiling response from Sam. Evie then animates politician Nick Clegg producing a sanctionable response to the request for the jewels from India (lines 8-9) that gets co-animated by Sam, who adds on an account on the same voice's behalf ("it was a gift", line 10), presenting, in presumably Clegg's terms, the reason for the request being denied and assessed as "ridiculous".

Example 5.10 MCY20MUG "Gift" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

```
02 EVI i just `LOVE the: um ((click))
03 <acc>you `knOw they were Asking for the kOhinoor>´DIamond
    back? (0.6)
    (*0.2+*0.2+*0.2)
sam  *nod *nod *nod
04 and the rEs´PON(Th°)SE:::~?
05 SAM nh°nh°
06 EVI from like? (.) the prIme `MINister and (stUff?) (0.91)
07 i th(h°)ink nIck ~CLEGG (like) said-
08 ((click)) <f> ↑Oh `NO.(.)we re nOt gonna ´DO tha(?h°)at,>
    haha (0.3)
09 <l,p, stacc, tense artic> `dOnt be ri~DIculous? ?ha?ha
10 SAM <br>~it ↓´wAs a ↑^GI:F:T>
```

As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the animation of the “offending” party is often provided as an evidential (Clift, 2006), a means of providing direct (but reconstructed, and biased) proof for the behaviour treated as sanctionable, and also establishing distance from the behaviour of another party by formulating it in a way that the transgression is clear, with some creative licence. Evie’s first animation is made up of two contributions that animate responses by Clegg to the official request from India in a humorous and yet critical way (lines 8 and 9), and unlike most cases of animation in the collection, in this case, mutual gaze is kept between the participants during the first animation.

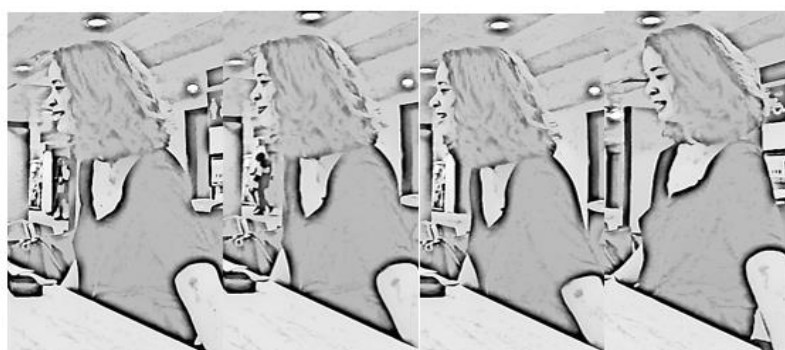
The first part is produced with interspersed laughter particles and is a very straightforward and informal negative answer to what would be an official inter-nation request (line 8), with two negative formulations “no”, and “we’re not gonna do that”, with a held hand gesture kept from several TCUs before, while shaking her head, aligned with “no”. The second animated item (line 9), offers an assessment and accusation of ridicule to the recipient -which would presumably be an Indian group of

officials who would have formally requested the return of the diamond-, and marks the request as unreasonable. It is produced with rhythmic scansion and greater articulatory tension, contextualising the stance ascribed to the British official.

Example 5.10 MCY20MUG "Gift" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```
08 EVI((click)) <f> *↑Oh *`NO.          *(.) we re nOt gonna *`DO tha?h°at,  
*>>RH head up-----*RH palm down  
      *shakes head*  
      #fig1  #figs2-3                      #fig4
```

[illegible]

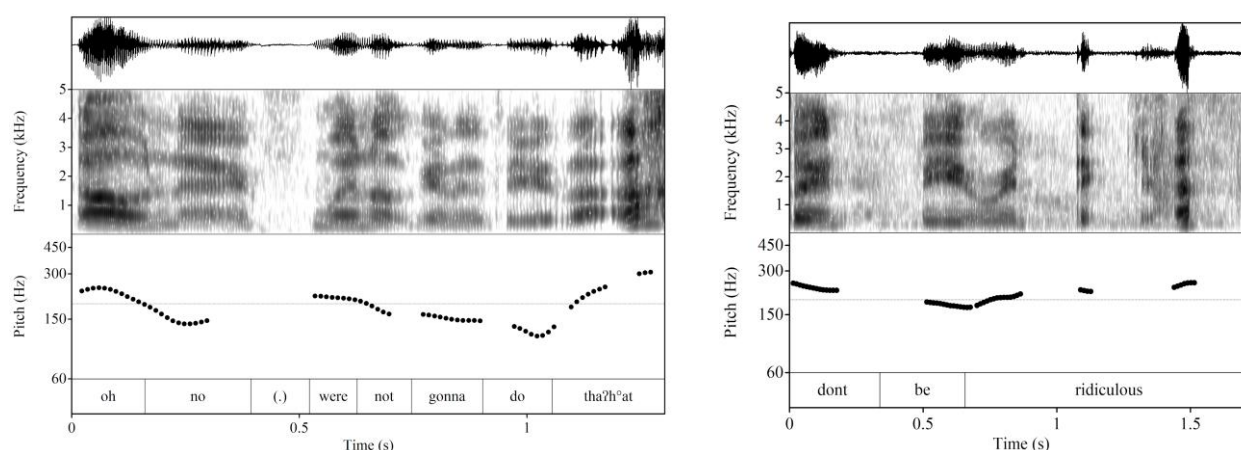


Figure 5.11 Waveform and f0 traces (Hz log) providing evidence of the pitch contours and amplitude in Evie's animation (lines 8 and 9)

Sam's contribution in responsive position (line 10) offers an account on behalf of the enacted figure of Nick Clegg that orients to the refusal and the ascription of absurdity to the requesters. It formulates the diamond as a "gift", a word that is prosodically salient for a) a rise-fall with a very high starting point relative to the midline in her range, and b) the length of the final two consonant segments, a long fortis labiodental fricative, and a final alveolar affricated plosive with a long fricative release (see figure 5.12):

10 SAM
it ↓'wAs a ↑^GIF::T:>

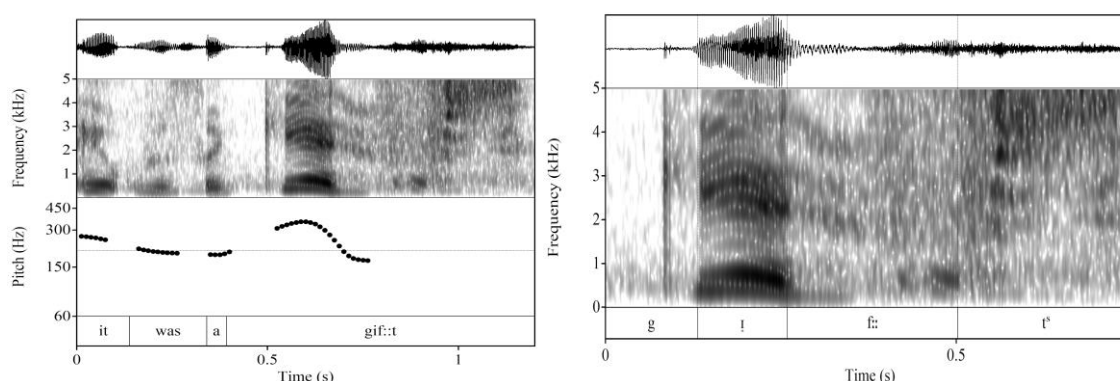


Figure 5.12 Waveform, spectrogram, and f0 trace of a) full Sam's co-animation; b) the word "gift".

Even though her prosodic design is different from Evie's prior animation, the starting point of her contribution is only 1 semitone higher than the end of Evie's prior TCU, and only 0.1 semitones higher than the start of that TCU, prosodically integrating this account to the ongoing animation. It is also produced with gaze aversion: Sam looks down during her animation, returning her gaze to Evie during the release of [t].

Example 5.10 MCY20MUG "Gift" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

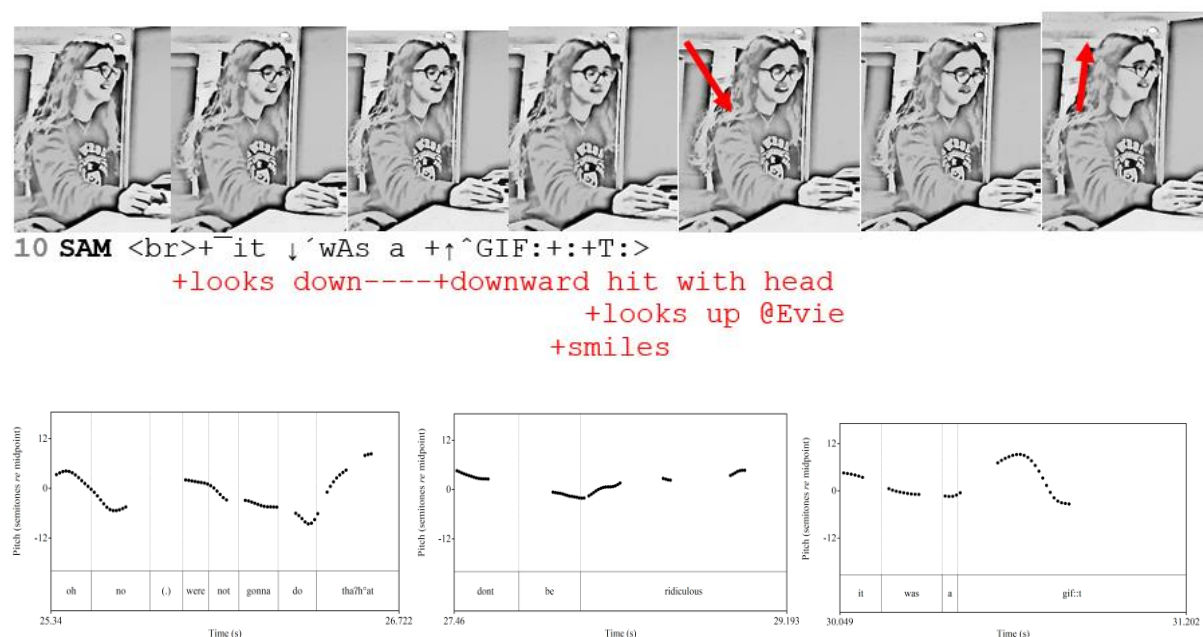


Figure 5.13 f0 traces (semiscales, scaled to speakers' own ranges) of whole co-animation sequence (lines 8-10).

Sam's provision of this account demonstrates understanding and indexes independent access to the issue being discussed- its being a "gift" had not been previously negotiated-, while at the same time, affiliating with the condemning stance. However, in this particular case, the proposed account is subject to criticism and rebuttal in the here-and-now (lines 11, 14-16), with Evie questioning the characterization of this as a "gift", which becomes a topic of further negotiation later before the animation of Clegg is resumed in lines 21-22, with a new preface: "and I sort of like the", that introduces a new account for the UK keeping the diamond.

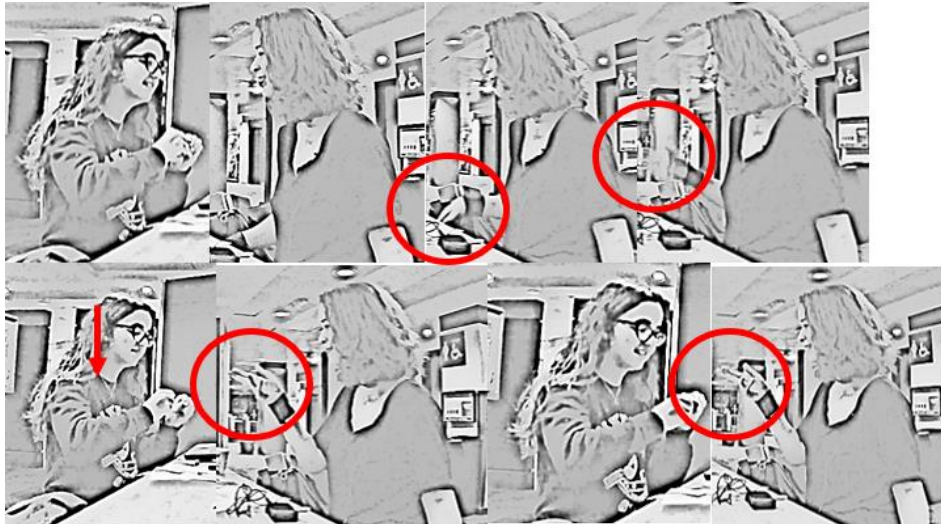
11 **EVI** <p, cr>h° `WAS it a ´GIFT,>

Evie questions Sam's contribution with "is it?", formulated in the present simple tense, bringing the discussion to the here-and-now, and completing it with a full question that adds a key detail in her version: their having obtained the treasure at gunpoint, (line 14). This questioning is followed by a gap in which the questioning turn does not receive an answer, and Evie pursues one with an animation with a right-hand, 2-finger L-handshape gesture, iconic of a gun (line 16), with a formulation that echoes a polite request, including a lengthened "please", that escalates the ridicule through a juxtaposition of polite (verbal) and forceful (non-verbal) forms.

Example 5.10 MCY20MUG "Gift" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

12 [Is it]
 13 SAM [(wasnt it x)]
 14 EVI <acc>is it a ↑gIfT if youre ↓holding a`GUN ath°the th°ime->
 15 (1.5)
 16 EVI <<mod>**i would ↑lIke that `DIamond plE::ase; ?h°** >

Example 5.10 MCY20MUG "Gift" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



14 **EVI** <acc>is it a ↑gIfT if youre ↓holding a`GUN at(h°)the t(h°)ime->
15 (1.5)

(+0.4* + *0.2 + ++0.9)
*raises RH *makes 2F L-handshape gun
*points forward--->
>>+looks down----->
+smiles----->



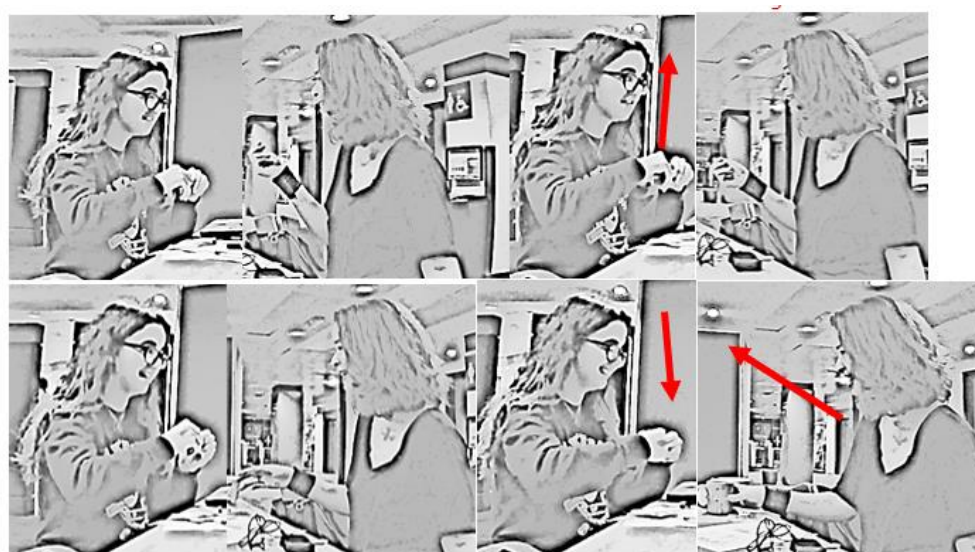
16 **EVI** <mod>*i would ↑like that *`DIamond plE*::ase- 2h° >
evi *>>points forward-----*flips fingers up
*leans R fixes gaze on Sam

Sam, in turn, questions the absurdity of Evie's representation of the historic scene, which would probably not have involved the stealing at handpoint, and produces a playful rebuttal of the content of Evie's animation in a modalised voice quality with a tenser articulation towards the end. This latter contribution is met with mutual gaze, smiling, and laughter before Evie presents a (presumably ironic) appreciation (line 21) of the account that was actually produced by Clegg (line 22).

Example 5.10 MCY20MUG "Gift" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

17 SAM $\bar{\text{they}}$ \downarrow wErent \uparrow hOlding a \wedge GU:N:
 18 [a $^\circ$ hh]
 19 EVI [haha]
 20 (1.3)
 21 EVI <acc, l, p> and i sort of $\bar{\text{LIKE}}$ the:-
 22 oh $\bar{\text{NO}}$. = we ll look $\bar{\text{AFTER}}$ it; <<cr> \downarrow bETter than $\bar{\text{THEY}}$ would>
 23 ?h $^\circ$ haha

Example 5.10 MCY20MUG "Gift" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



17 SAM * $\bar{\text{they}}$ * \uparrow wErent holding a <<tense art> * \uparrow GU:+N: >
 sam +looks @Evi-----+looks down
 evi *folds *makes fist lowers hand-----*reaches mug
 >*looks @Sam-----*lowers head looks @Sam

Similar to this case, other co-animated accounts present clear prosodic integration, with the co-animation beginning at a point that is comparably equal in pitch height, or slightly lower than the first animation, both in speaker-range-relative and also absolute terms, such as the one in MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (full analysis in Chapter 7):

Example 5.11 MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

02 IVA not $\bar{\text{E}}$:verybody is as $\bar{\text{NICHE}}$ ((ni:tʃ)) a:s [ʔu:h]
 03 LIL [\uparrow $\bar{\text{N}}$]ICHE((ni:tʃ))

04 nh^oe hehe (0.89)
05 IVA what `IS it.
06 LIL ^NI:CHE. ((ni:f))
07 IVA `NICHE? ((ni:f)) =`DA:Mmit, [°hh haha]
08 LIL [hahahahaha]
09 IVA [<all>`STRIKE thAt from the> <p, cr> ↓`REcord.> °hh]
10 LIL [hahahahaha °hh
11 <l, cr> thats `NOT how i tAlk.>
12 IVA [hahaha]

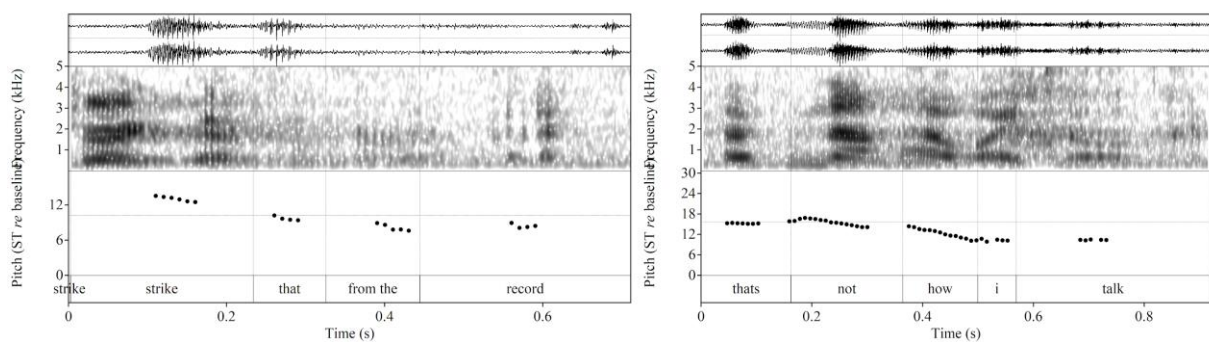


Figure 5.14 Waveform, spectrogram, and f0 (semitones, scaled to speakers' ranges) of co-animation (lines 9 & 11)

5.4.1.2 Providing a second/third/next part

In the case of A-animated lists and sequences of steps/events in the collection, B can be seen to be providing a next element, or a co-member. Lists tend to cluster like-items, items presented as co-class members which can also be syntactically parallel or only just semantically compatible (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017; Jefferson, 1990; Lerner, 2016; Selting, 2007). In most cases in our collection, the semantic connection between the items is constructed interactionally, and recognised retrospectively and prospectively with the confirmation provided by the speaker of the first version.

List member co-production may stand between completion and extension, particularly when it is the third item on a list that is provided. Lists may have reached their third component, and thus be extended. The hybrid status of lists as possibly being other-completed or other-extended, and given that none of the cases here present necessarily co-animators providing a third and final item (and where they do there is a fourth item or a choral production of that third item), lists will be analysed as extensions, acknowledging their ambiguous and problematic status between pre- and post-possible completion.

An overview of animated, B-provided final or pre-final list items in the collection appears below:

- Laura is animating a GPS-like voice which is part of a tease of a group of students' "interpretation" of a teaching task. Becky provides the next step of the set of directions:
 - LAU: bear right to Dubai > BEC: keep going for thousands of kilometres (MCY03SPIDER "Bear right")
- Karen is self-animating complaining about the mess in her life during exam time, and Angie offers a third component, with Karen closing the list with a fourth:
 - KAR: There's no food in the fridge; I've got no clean pants > ANG: I've been living off pizza for the last week > KAR: I haven't been to the gym in a month (MCY07BOTTLE "Pants")
- Liz is animating herself talking to the host -who she had been unacquainted with before that day- of a barbecue she was at the prior weekend. She feels she could have been too cheeky if she had requested to take home some leftover food, which she presents as a counterfiction. Charlotte amplifies the self-tease by adding the elements of the list in two occasions:

- LIZ: I'll take some lambchops for next Sunday, and some sausages on Thursday. Do you mind if i take this bottle of ketchup as well? > CHA: Got a plate? (RCECigarette "Got a plate?")
- LIZ: What about the keys to your house? > CHA: And the code to your bank account? (RCECigarette "Got a plate?")

The following example shows how co-participants may orient to this three partedness by producing the third item themselves, in co-animation, though lists may, after this B-contribution, always be extended further. Angie and Karen are friends, and at this point in the interaction they are discussing the challenges in achieving work-life balance, and the stress they experience during exam periods. Angie has been telling Karen about the lists that she makes of things to do after exams, and how the daily chores seem to fall out of control during exam week (lines 7-12).

Example 5.12 MCY07BOTTLE "Pants" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```
05 (im/and) Im the `WORST; cause ~like=
06 =espEcially on e~XAM week,
07 <<all> (it could) be like> all my ~WASHing and stuff,
08 its like bUilding `UP;
09 =(and im like) `NO2; °hh
10 <<outbreathy>(ill do it h°after exa? 2i)>
11 <<allegro, h>i dun`NO = (its just b`like?.)>
12 by the `End all my whole `life is this `CHA[OS ]
13 KAR [a `ME::;]
14 ANG cAuse im [`JUST like;] °ahh
15 KAR [(a ↓`MESS.)]
```

Angie assesses the state of her "whole life" (accompanied by a sweeping hand gesture) as "chaos" (line 12), and Karen concurs with this assessment, suggesting "a mess" (lines 13 and 15) in overlap. Karen's repetition of "a mess" (line 9) is produced in a

disengaging manner, as she closes her eyes, stopping mutual eye contact, and scratches her face, while she starts the first item of the list.

The first list item (line 17) is an elaboration or exemplification of what the chaos/mess would amount to, and also appears to assist and orient to an upcoming but abandoned Self-animation by Angie (line 14, "cause I'm just like").

Example 5.12 MCY07BOTTLE "Pants" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

14 ANG cAuse im [JUST like;] °ahh
15 KAR [(a ↓`MESS.)]
16 ANG <<downstepped>i [`nEed to °LEARN to: >]
17 KAR [<<sty, fal>(its like/i think) **theres** ↓`nO
`fOod in the ↑°FRI: [DGE=↓I (ve) got>]
18 ANG [<<f>↑°YE:AH>]
19 KAR **nO cLEan** ↑°PANT[S:]->

Karen's animation of this voice of Self, identified with "I" (line 17) enacts somehow iconically the probable cries of desperation of life out of control, and is done in a stylised way, with a calling contour and falsetto voice (see figure 5.16).

Angie then acknowledges and thus accepts Karen's illustration of what "chaos" may mean (line 18), but immediately after changes footing to add the third element to what has now become a collaborative list (line 20), also with falsetto voice.

Example 5.12 MCY07BOTTLE "Pants" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

20 ANG <<fals>(ive)[been ↓lIv]ing off ↑⁻PIZza for the [lAst wee::k>]
21 KAR [°ahh]
22 [°YE::A:H.=]
23 =[2i ↓hAvent] been to the ↑⁻G:YM in a mon[th]=
24 ANG [iʔh°ʔh°ʔh°]
25 [°I] ~KNO::W,=
26 KAR = <<l, br> ⁻its ↓`TRU::E;>

In terms of syntactic format-tying, the first list item introduces an existential structure (line 11), whereas the second, though semantically related to the first, introduces a construction introducing the pronoun "I" with a present perfect tense. An acknowledgement is produced after the first item, but the grammar of the second item is what gets taken up for the following list elements. Jefferson (1986a/2017:332) explains that "this belonging together is not necessarily inherent in the items, but can be imparted to them by their co-list membership", what is called "colligation", presented as a means of minimising repair or disagreement. It is by means of their contiguity, their syntactic similarity, and their prosodic matching, that these items may be presented as being part of the same list, as well as their semantic relation of unpacking of what "chaos/mess" means, in a way, acting as "hyponyms".

Angie's "chiming in" retrospectively shows a display of this being a "shared voice" that can be associated with both of them as a collectivity, in a recognisable situation for both and with forms of strong prosodic similarity and "fusion". Angie's highest prominence in this falsetto rendering is accompanied with upward gaze and raised eyebrows, and this prosodic and gestural peak is taken up by Karen in her final element of the list (see Figure 5.15 below).



Figure 5.15 Embodied behaviour by Angie and Karen on focus accents on the list ("fridge", "pants", pizza", "gym")

Prosodic matching has been established to be an important indicator of co-membership to a list: Selting (2007b), in her study of lists in German, stresses that the repetition of a certain pattern of "list intonation" on each item contributes to the

recognisability of items as such. She describes some of the common contours found on lists (particularly a high rise-plateau and a low-rise plateau, Grabe, 1998) which may be downstepped, with each new item being produced with a lower pitch height and narrower range than the previous one. List items may be produced with a similar prosodic configuration for other parameters as well: the duration, loudness or tempo of the associated items may be relatively similar to each other. Lists may be held together with rhythmic integration and matching (Imrie, n.d.), and also by alliteration (Jefferson, 1990).

In terms of pitch range and excursion, Angie's version is slightly upgraded, as it goes higher in range than Karen's own range (see Figure 5.16 below). However, the extreme form of falsetto quality that Angie produces is met with some downgrading: Karen attenuates the volume as compared to her earlier quality, but still retains a high pitch level. This could be a possible marking of list completion (a four-item list), which is somehow confirmed by Angie's overlapping "Yeah" (line 16) during this last list item, and her latched "I know" (line 18). Karen's also agreeing confirmation "it's true" (line 19) comes next-beat.

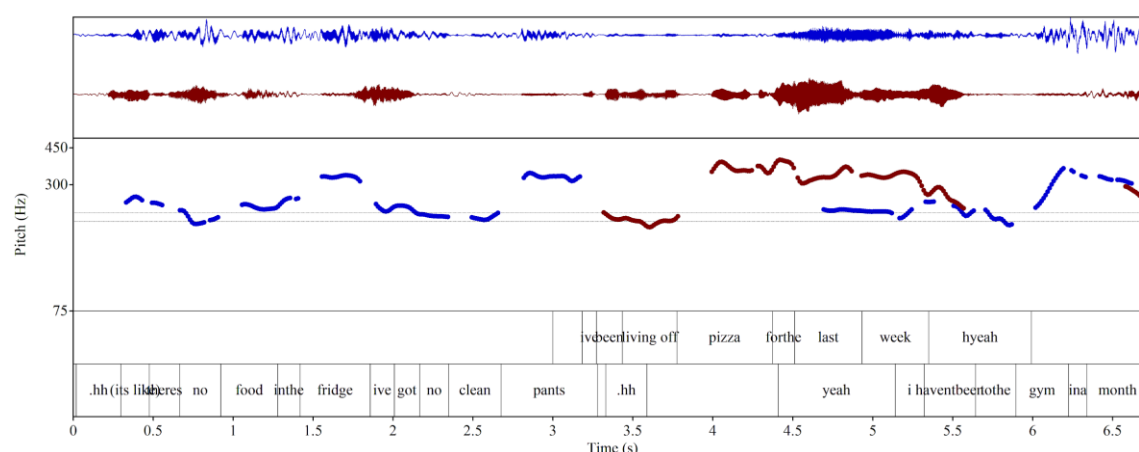


Figure 5.16 F0 trace (Hz log) of full co-animated list. (Blue: Karen, maroon: Angie)

This collaborative list is then prosodically designed as a unit, with both speakers producing falsetto voice qualities with wide pitch excursions towards the upper boundaries of their range and matching list contours, but also with a perceptual rhythmic unity that sounds perhaps more isochronous than measurements show in figure 5.17.

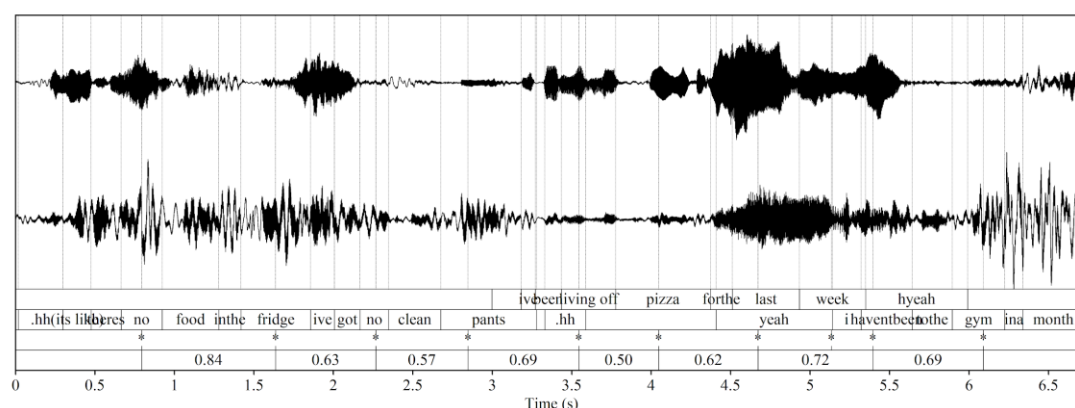


Figure 5.17 Waveform, beats, and measured intervals (in seconds) of co-animated list.

These shared prosodic configurations across items do not only mark coherence across list items, but between the participants as a single social unit. Karen proposes a list to demonstrate understanding and affiliate with Angie, exemplifying what she is narrating and complaining about, and Angie, in turn, confirms this association by “playing” to Karen’s rules of delivery of the list, and thus, retrospectively marking this voice of “Self” as a collective one, with both as incumbents. Angie also adds elements to her delivery which get matched by Karen, who once again confirms their association, with final agreement markers (lines 25 and 26) that confirm the suitability of each other’s contributions.

This sub-section has introduced co-animations that result in jointly-constructed lists. Each animation is a list item, and they may or may not be framed with conjunctionals in the here-and-now, which also appears to support the view that animations are “objects” that can get manipulated in interaction for social ends. Co-participants are

seen to further the action carried out through the list, either for shared play or to do co-complaining, making their own additions to demonstrate understanding and contribute a part of their own experience or inventive in the creation of something that becomes co-owned in the end.

5.4.2 (Re)Formulations

Because first and co-animations are introduced in mostly extended activities, and thus, act as part of big packages, their “domain” is not just the prior turn. In a way, as will be shown below, it makes sense that continued animations by B should also orient to the larger activity, that is, that they should be formatted as *(re)formulations*.

Formulations and *reformulations* have been studied as related or even indistinct phenomena as “formulations” in Conversation Analysis (Heritage & Watson, 1979; Depperman, 2011, Persson, 2013, Bolden, 2010), and as “reformulations” in Discourse-Semantic studies (Ciapuscio, 2003; Cuenca, 2003; Gülich & Kotschi, 1995). A gradient differentiation will be made here between:

- **Reformulations**, that is, cases that provide reworded, paraphrased versions of prior talk that can act as a replaceable formulation, but not necessarily one which abstracts from the first version, nor further re-specifies it. In a sense, they project a relation of equivalence with a prior version without engaging in full repetition, which would index epistemic primacy (Clift, 2006).
- **Formulations**, i.e., co-animations that provide abstractions, generalisations, or unexplicated material derived from a first animation or a larger package, and which often make a third-position confirmation relevant.

This separation is also warranted by agentive differentials. Even though (re)formulations are always selective and transformative (Heritage & Watson, 1976, Deppermann, 2011b) and preserve and delete aspects of prior contributions and in that respect they make for more independent forms of composition, there are different levels of independence of composition and control in transforming prior talk, in spite of being normally placed in second position. The next two subsections will explore these agentive issues when describing how co-animations are hearable as continuations of just-finished animations by being formatted as formulations or reformulations of prior talk.

5.4.2.1 Reformulation

Co-animation is a form of active demonstration of understanding. Whereas extensions use the material in first animations to supplement it with new actions, leading to a new co-owned product, reformulations transform what is already there by establishing a relation of equivalence with immediately prior talk. This is done through animations presented as paraphrases of first animations, or as a stronger or more specific version left on record when they are upgraded or when they feature hyponyms, the latter two options revealing greater levels of agentivity.

Reformulation I: Providing an interactionally synonymous or paraphrased version

Responsive co-animations may transform the first animation by providing a version which is semantically synonymous, either by keeping the structural configuration (order of constituents and structure used) or by introducing a different grammatical order. These are probably the cases that may be closer to repetitions, and not surprisingly, they serve to close the animation space and the sequence as “doubles at closing” repetitions are also seen to do (Curl et al., 2006; Schegloff, 1996a; Wong, 2000), only that it is the co-participant that is offering the (roughly) equivalent version.

These co-animated reformulations provide a second opportunity for closing, they re-complete the prior animation, and also, in the there-and-then of the animation space, they are seen to be re-doing the action of the voice in the animation. In the here-and-now, though, this re-doing through semantic and/or pragmatic equivalence is demonstrating understanding and also providing an answer that is deemed to have satisfied conditional relevance of an affiliative response.

An overview of cases in this sub-collection appears below:

- a) Charlotte is animating a response cry as a reaction to a swan putting its wings up towards her, and Liz co-animates:
 - CHA: Woah! > LIZ: Steady! (RCE01CIGARETTE "Steady")
- b) Karen is animating herself responding to her mother's frenzy over her moving together with her boyfriend.
 - KAR: Just calm down. > ANG: Calm down, don't get too ahead of yourself (MCY07BOTTLE "Calm Down", analysed in detail in Chapter 6)
- c) Jon is animating himself cheering himself in the face of trouble with a hand-in-fist hitting gesture, as Dan is 'doing being' Jon:
 - JON: I've got to rig this > DAN: Let's do it (MCY02BAR "Let's do it")
- d) Dan is doing the voice of the dentist on the phone, who is said to provide a minimal and useless response on hearing he had metal in his mouth. Jon is heard to be co-animating the dentist providing an equally unhelpful response:
 - Oh (0.9) > Okay (0.8) Bye! (MCY02BAR, "Dentist")

- e) Evie and Sam are discussing the killing of subjects who did not believe in the Divine Right of Kings, and Evie animates the voice of a collective of subjects who acquiesce as a result of seeing their comrades killed:
 - `EVI: Yeah (0.2) Yeah, okay, sure, yeah, yeah > SAM: Whatever you say (MCY20MUG "Whatever you say")`
- f) Ivan and Lila are discussing how they handle the transitions between passages as they teach Literature in comparison with the style of their tutor. Ivan animates his own style, with Lila joining in the animation:
 - `IVA: Next passage! > LIL: Let's move on. And then I think next were gonna look at... (MCY11LAPTOP "Passages")`
- g) Bruce is animating his own voice in an email he needs to write to a potential employer. Alice joins in, and Bruce does his version next:
 - `BRU: Hi, my Dad's spoken to you > ALI: It's me > BRU: This is me (0.5) Hi! (0.8) I do energy. (MCY06LAKE "Draft an email")`
- h) After part of an animated list that had been abandoned, an animation towards the host of a barbecue that Liz is addressing as she cheekily takes away some leftovers and cutlery, Liz takes up the list again and closes it with a farewell. Charlotte responds with a reformulation of the greeting to the host:
 - `LIZ: Bye! > CHA: See you later! (RCECigarette "Got a plate?")`

In the next illustrative example, the co-animator produces a synonymous version that is structurally ordered in the same way, as an interjection. Charlotte and Liz are discussing their fear of waterfowl at their university, and Charlotte describes a particular swan that has attacked her in the past by pointing at the area where it normally is (line 2).

Example 5.13 RCECIGARETTE "Steady" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

01 CHA they `sca:re me; = when they put their `wings up. (1.6)

02 you know that black `swan=
03 =that's ↓always over ~there,
04 [with the] red: (.) ~beak,
05 LIZ [ˈmhm;]
06 `yeah; (0.8)
07 CHA ↓really `chased me ↓last `year [h°uh°]
08 LIZ [nh°uh°]
09 CHA ?huh° °hh
10 LIZ ?hu?hu°
11 [°hha]
12 CHA [theyre b] (.) ↑theyre really ↑~big though?
13 and (then when) they put their `wings up.
14 they[re like **k]wgr:: (([q°]h::))**
15 LIZ [↑↑^m::m.]
16 [↑↑^ye::ah]
17 CHA [(you know `what)]
18 youre like ^wo::a[h°]
19 LIZ [u?]hehe ~ste:ady::?
20 e?heheh°
21 CHA ↑~ye:a:h?
22 LIZ ?huhuh °hhh
23 CHA it `won. nhh°
24 LIZ u°hh
25 (0.8)
26 CHA it wasnt taken `on.
27 (4.9)

Charlotte and Liz's joint attention is placed on the black swan. Shared laughter (lines 10-11) is the orientation towards the already anticipated punchline of Charlotte's story, her being chased by the swan, with Liz making an extended and more ostensive display of laughter, as 5.13 below shows.

Example 5.13 RCECIGARETTE "Steady" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

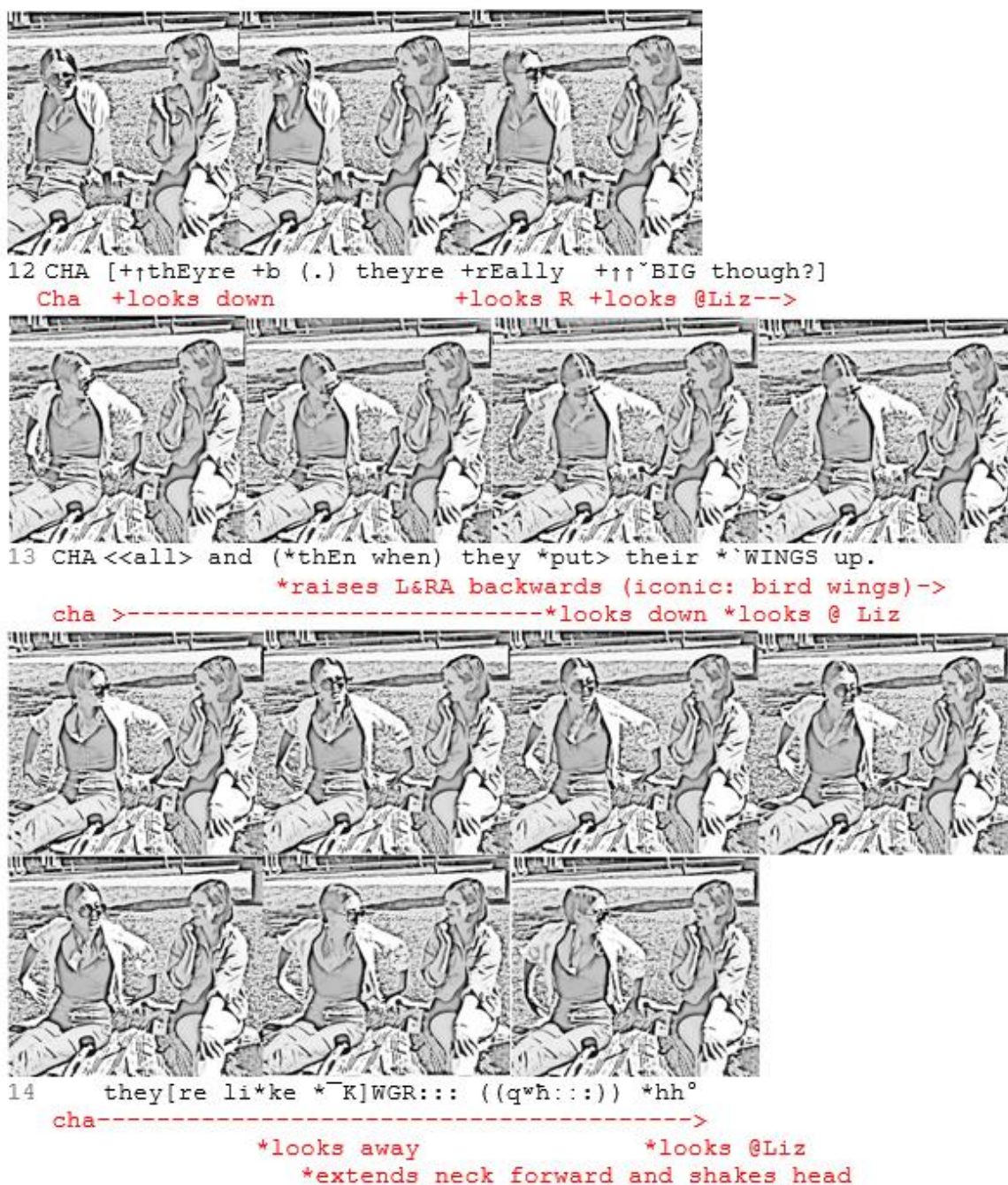


07 CHA <<l, cr> ↓rEally `CHASED me ↓↓lAst `YEAR> [h°uh°]
 08 LIZ [nh°uh°]
 09 CHA ʔhuh° °hh
 10 LIZ ʔhuʔhu°
 11 [°hh ha]

This disclosure and period of laughter turns to an account (line 12) that is no longer presented as a laughable for Charlotte, who introduces the marker “though” for concession and uses a higher pitch (starting 7 semitones higher than the end of her prior TCU) and volume range, common markers of disjunction and re-starts (Couper-Kuhlen, 2004), though this issue stays on as a laughable for Liz (line 10) for a little bit longer.

Charlotte moves on to a more granular and vivid description of the menace that swans –seemingly innocent creatures possibly in the common consciousness– pose (lines 12–14). This verbal description is accompanied by a non-vocal enactment of the swan’s wings and forward-leaning neck and beak, having Charlotte verbally doing herself, and in other bodily ways, embodying the swan (see below).

Example 5.13 RCECIGARETTE “Steady” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



At this point, Liz offers a recognitional response ("mm", with high pitch and a rise-fall, line 15) that, however minimal, offers a prosodic design that orients to the "efforts" of Charlotte's embodiment of the threat. As Charlotte's description becomes a verbal animation with a vocalisation (line 14) that adds the final element of danger to the

animated swan, this is oriented to by Liz with another prosodically upgraded response of agreement and recognition: “yeah” (line 16, see figure 5.18).

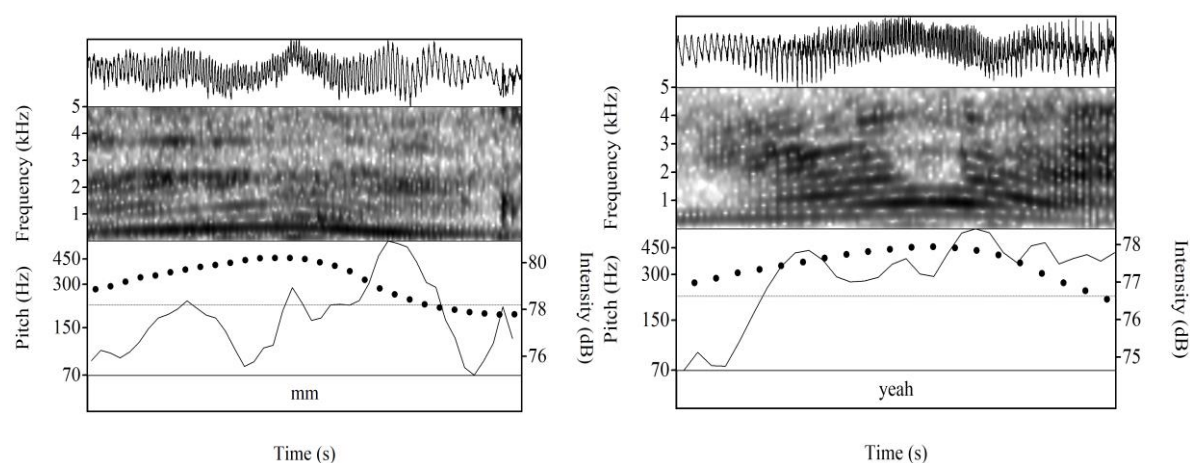


Figure 5.18 Liz's prosodically upgraded responses (lines 14-15). Includes F0 (Hz log) and intensity traces.

Charlotte then enacts her response to the swan but seemingly not anchored in a particular there-and-then but in a more generic way, as warranted by the use of “you” and the simple present tense (lines 17-18), with a response cry “woah” and laughter as she steps back in the imaginary space. It is interesting to note, as was done in Chapter 4, that the enactment is done first through the character viewpoint of the bird as the agent with the bird moving forward menacingly, and the shift to Charlotte’s own character viewpoint, moving backwards in space.

Example 5.13 RCECIGARETTE “Steady” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



17 CHA +[<<all, l>(*you know *`what/like)>]
 cha *looks @Liz ----->
 *lowers head
 Liz >>> looks @Cha----->>>



18 +*youre *like *↑^WO:::AH* [h°]
 cha *raises eyebrows
 >*looks down *looks @Liz
 *raises L leg
 steps back
 Liz +looks away

Charlotte's reaction is oriented to with a co-animation by Liz and presents a synonymous formulation, the interjection "steady" (line 19), followed by laughter. Both co-animated contributions are formulated as response cries addressed at the same party, and share the same affective stance. However, their prosodic and gestural delivery differ. Whereas Charlotte's "woah" carries a falling tone starting high in her

range, Liz's "steady" is produced with a fall-rise hovering around her midline (see figure 5.19 below). Their articulatory settings bear some resemblances, as both apply a rougher voice quality to their interjections than in surrounding speech, and introduce some lengthening.

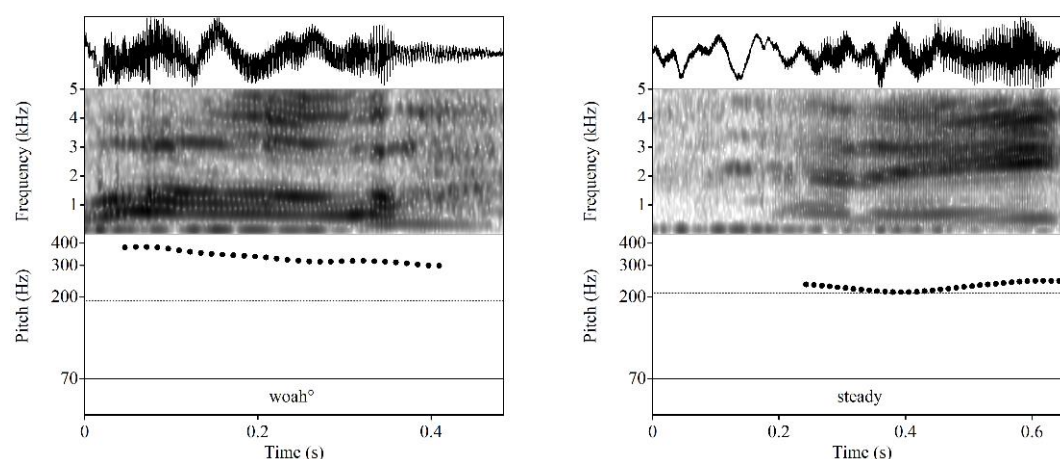
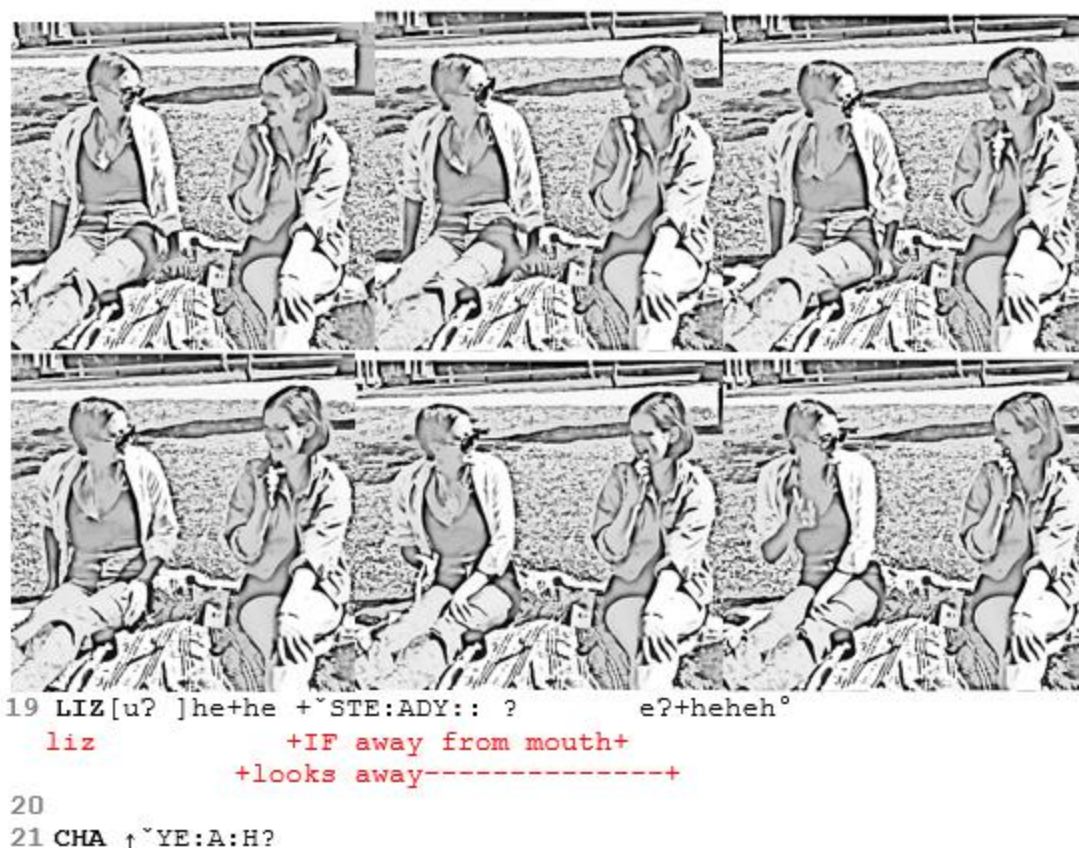


Figure 5.19 Phonetic visualisation of Liz and Charlotte's co-animated turns. F0 trace in Hz logarithmic.

Throughout the whole period of the first animation, Liz has been involved in applying balm to her lips, and her posture has remained mostly unchanged, with only her gaze direction switching. During her co-animated response, she separates her right index finger from her mouth, looks forward to where Charlotte has located the phantasma of the swan, and returns her gaze to Charlotte, who produces a prosodically upgraded agreeing "yeah".

Example 5.13 RCECIGARETTE "Steady" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



After the marker of affiliation, Charlotte returns to her story, providing the story ending with the humorous outcome of the swan winning, back to the humorous tone (lines 23, 26) of the beginning.

The first animation is a description of the complainable, of how scary the swans can be and the co-animation enacts what a reasonable reaction would be, which comes after what could have been a disaligning moment, given Liz's initial reaction to Charlotte's "misfortune" (line 10). Liz's contribution amounts to a demonstration of understanding and of access of how threatening this situation can be, and matches in the end the level of empathy and validation that Charlotte's granular enactment appears to be attempting to mobilise. This example mirrors others in the collection in which co-animation appears to provide a first-animator-endorsed affective and affiliative response, one that eases any kind of prior misalignments, or at least it is a resource

that is used to negotiate these differences in alignment (e.g. see example 5.10 MCY20MUG “Gift” above).

Prosodically and gesturally, this group of reformulations engage in different processes. Whereas prosodic matching of voice quality and/or pitch contour is the case in some examples (e.g. RCE01 “Got a plate?”, MCY07BOTTLE “Calm down”), in others, the second production bears a more independent prosodic design. What most of these co-animated reformulations share is that they tend to be prosodically integrated, in that their starting points are both in speaker-relative and absolute terms, lower in the pitch range than the first animations, and they often reach the lowest points in the sequence, in-keeping with their also being sequence-closing elements. Gesturally, co-animators are normally seen to keep their postural and gestural configurations and not produce any particular forms of matching.

In those cases where interactionally-relevant hand gestures and other postural changes are produced (e.g. MCY06LAKE “Draft an email”), they are produced with the same articulators than those in first animations, but co-participants are seen to be independently producing a different gesture. The example below happens during what is a playful misalignment around the ethics around Bruce’s possibility of getting a job with a company he needs to contact, which Alice (not shown), has assessed as “shady”, and Bruce has rejected. The example shows both Bruce and Alice animating the casualness of the email that Bruce will be sending. While animating the greeting (and its implications of Bruce being recognised by the recruiter) they are both making use of their left hand, with Bruce waving, and Alice making a shoulder-raising swing and a pointing gesture, which appears to contextualise her own stance towards the issue as independent. In extended sequences of co-animation as the one below, in which issues of entitlement are being negotiated -with Bruce countering some accusations of “shadiness” by Alice in prior talk regarding his establishing contact with ILabs-, gestural

trajectories by co-animators may be taken up by first animators (e.g. shoulder movement). In other words, gestural differences may mirror epistemic entitlement and stance negotiations.

Example 5.14 MCY09LAKE "Draft an email" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

15 <<all> i need to GO and send them an `Email; = (and ill basically)> ^SAY



16 ALI *↑HI (↓-I*lab)* (0.2) (0.2)
bru *LH up.....-,,,,,*



17 ALI ha+ha +°ahh
+separates LH from sandwich
+I-point gesture----->

18 my `DADS spo[ken to you;]*
bru *both T up
*shrugs

18 ALI [<<p> +its ↑M::↓-E::,>]+
>-----+
+raises L shoulder+



19 BRU thIs is *`ME, (0.56) *`HI? (0.8) i do `Energy?
*T up/down & shrug (x2)

The previous group shows co-animations that appear to amount to the same in different words, and whose immediate referent is the prior animation. The following group is a group of reformulations in which some component of the prior animation is upgraded, or made more specific through, for example, a hyponym.

Reformulation II: Providing an upgraded version or a more specific version

In this sub-group of reformulations, B's animation *transforms* A's prior animation by providing an upgraded version with an extreme-case formulation that may add a humorous overtone to the animation, or with an upgraded assessment that escalates the level of complaint or humour. Alternatively, the version by B may increase the level of humour by being more specific regarding a referent, unpacking or decomposing a referent/verb/noun into one of its components or providing an exemplification or a more specific class member alluded to. Any of these versions, upgraded or overspecified, contribute to the creation of a more absurd picture of the one in progress, and they are most often found, then, in teasing and joint fictionalisations (see Chapter 7), where the activity in progress requires affiliation in the shape of laughter or upmanship.

Because they transform prior material in a way that the new version is not necessarily synonymous with the previous one in terms of degree or specificity, they demonstrate understanding even more actively and more independently, while also in a way rejecting the position of epistemic subordination that they may have been put in by going second, making a stronger bid even in contexts of tellings where co-animators only count with the access to events provided during the telling. It is particularly during these activities that evidence can be found that any concerns with first-hand access and authenticity are thwarted by affiliative concerns.

- a) Charlotte is enacting her ironic reaction upon seeing duck excrement all over campus on her visit during Visit Day. Liz upgrades the reaction by doing being Charlotte in that situation.
 - CHA: Mm, nice > LIZ: Oh, delightful (RCE01 "Shit")
- b) Ivan and Lila are engaged in a joint role-play fantasy after Ivan has assigned Lila the pseudonym Bolo. Lila and Ivan are jointly playing "Bolo", and the exchange is brought to a closing in this way:
 - IVA: Also my name is Bolo > LIL: Everything about me is Bolo (MCY11LAPTOP "Bolo")
- c) Charlotte is teasing Liz, playing her as a high school tutor teaching with a hangover, and Liz continues the animation:
 - CHA: We learn great things > LIZ: It's expanded my mind (RCE01CIGARETTE "Teaching")
- d) Laura is telling Becky about her urge to boast at having seen the phenomenon featured in the latest episode of 'Planet Earth', which happens to be about huge amounts of bird excrement dropped in Rome daily. Becky humorously unpacks and upgrades what Laura would be bragging about (the "it" in her first animation) through co-animation:
 - LAU: Oh, I was there and I saw it > BEC: I've seen one of the great nature spectacles on Planet Earth: shitting starlings (MCY03 "Planet Earth")
- a) A young kid has approached the café where Dan and Jon are sitting, leading Dan to ventriloquize the baby, with Jon partially repeating the animation with a more specific kind of noun, a hyponym, that makes the toddler's request more absurd:
 - DAN: I need that coffee > JON: No, mum I need my espresso (MCY02BAR "Cute baby")

- b) Upon hearing a rare rhythmic noise by a coot, Fiona incorporates the noise as part of a fantasy in which her music is said to be played at a real “weird tempo”. Jesse unpacks “play” as “hitting the instrument in time” to the coot, co-animating the voice Fiona has been doing:

○ FIO: Ah, yes I play to the, uh, the clicking sound of
a coot > JES: I just hit it roughly in time (MCY04
“Metronome”)

- c) Ivan and Lila are discussing the typical questions that authors get asked in readings, and Ivan misuses the term “inspirations” when he meant “influences”. This leads to a humorous re-doing of the question, with Lila unpacking it further into “hopes and dreams”:

○ IVA: What are your inspirations? > LIL: Tell me all
about your hopes and dreams (MCY11LAPTOP “Influences”)

In the following illustrative example, Dan is discussing his disappointment regarding a YouTuber he used to follow, who used to drink alcohol while cooking in a show called “My Drunk Kitchen”. His friend Jon has heard of the show (line 16), and he initially miscalculates what the disappointment might be about (line 19). Dan rejects this candidate understanding and complains that the show is no longer faithful to its initial purpose (lines 20-28), and complains that the presenter does not get drunk anymore (line 29), receiving a matching “exasperated” response (line 31) with an audible sigh by Jon.

Example 5.15 MCY02BAR “Wasted” (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

12 DAN [i Used to WATCH]
13 <<p, l, cr> a you`TUBer who? ch (x) like my drUnk `KITchen?>
14 (no i dont know like) <<acc> basically she gets> `DRUNK ↓and
tries to `COOK.
15 [i Used to `LO]ve it.
16 JON [`YE:AH ↓yEah ↓yEah ↓yEah]

17 DAN <<all> cause she used to be>`GREAT=<<all>it used to be>
~FUNny=
18 she just got really drunk and like t
19 JON <<p, l>is it rEally co`MMERcial now.>
20 DAN ~NOT `REALLy she just;
21 its ↑All about ↓`LIFE messages;
22 and posi`TIivity = and like `MINDfulness;
23 and All tha::t (0.5) `CRAP.
24 which is ↑`GREAT.
25 <<acc> shes really ↓`INto it; =
26 =and im `glAd ↓`SHEs enjOying it, =
27 =<<cr> but `↓Im just like thats nOt the POI[NT>>]
28 JON [`YEAH.]
[`NO::;]
29 DAN [<<all> she doesnt sEem>] to get `DRUNK anymO::re; (1.18)
30 (was she kInd of) = I dont `KNO::W.
31 JON ahhh°((sigh))

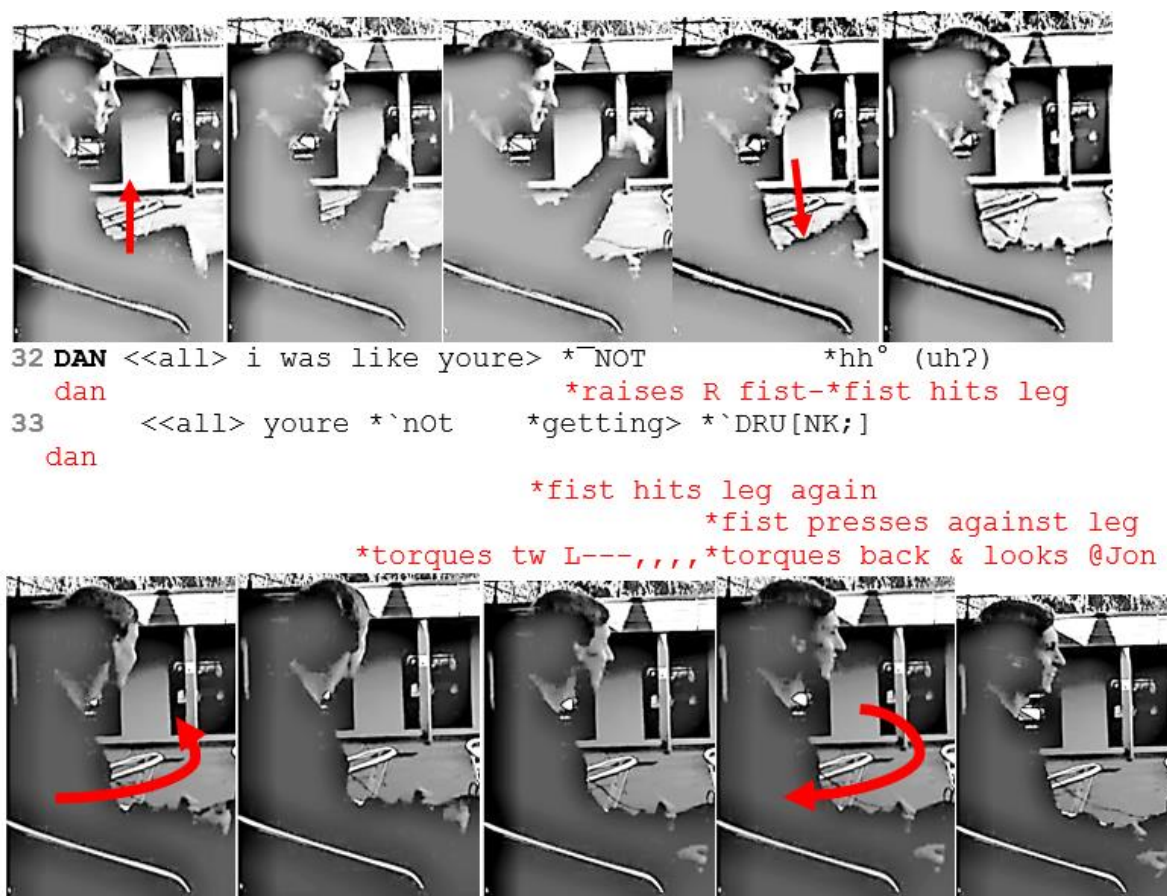
After this affiliative response, Dan makes the complaint more vivid through an animation (line 30, 32-33) with the presenter as recipient -though presumably, enacting his own role as a viewer in front of the screen, recreating a one-way interaction that would not get responded by the presenter anyway:

Example 5.15 MCY02BAR "Wasted" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

32 DAN <<all> i was like **youre**> ~NOT
33 hh° (uh?) <<all> **youre** `nOt **getting**> `DRU[NK;]

His stance is further contextualised with repeated fist-on-leg hits with his right hand, and a body torque to his right which coincides with his animated segment, returning his gaze towards Jon towards the end of his animation, as Jon starts the continued co-animation:

Example 5.15 MCY02BAR "Wasted" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Jon contributes to Dan's complaint by joining in Dan's animation and producing a formulation and exemplification of what Dan's complaint amounts to (lines 34, 36-37).

Example 5.15 MCY02BAR "Wasted" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

33 hh° (uh?) <<all> **youre `nOt getting>`DRU[NK;]**
 34 JON [**<<all> no you] gOtta**
get> `W:A:STEd;
 35 DAN [**`YE::S. = and `LIKE]**
 36 JON [**↓and `TRY and.]**
 37 **fucking `cOok. = pOached `Eggs**
 38 DAN <<cr>`YE:-AH h° (.) <<p> ↓`YE-AH.>>

Dan introduces agreement tokens after the first part of the resulting co-animation (line 35) and two more "yeah" after Jon's extension of his animation (line 38), confirming that Jon's contribution is appropriate, thus also exerting the prerogative of acceptance or refusal of his co-participants' contribution.

Jon is heard to be continuing the complaint, and thus reveals his understanding of Dan's stance, and upgrades "drunk" by using "wasted", and by further specifying with an example -and the intensifier "fucking" (line 37)- what the acceptable behaviour by the "offender" should have been. Jon's upgraded version of Dan's "drunk" (line 33) with a word of the same semantic family "wasted" (line 34) is prosodically intensified (Ogden, 2012) with a noticeably long duration of its first two segments, [w] and [eɪ] (see figure 5.20).

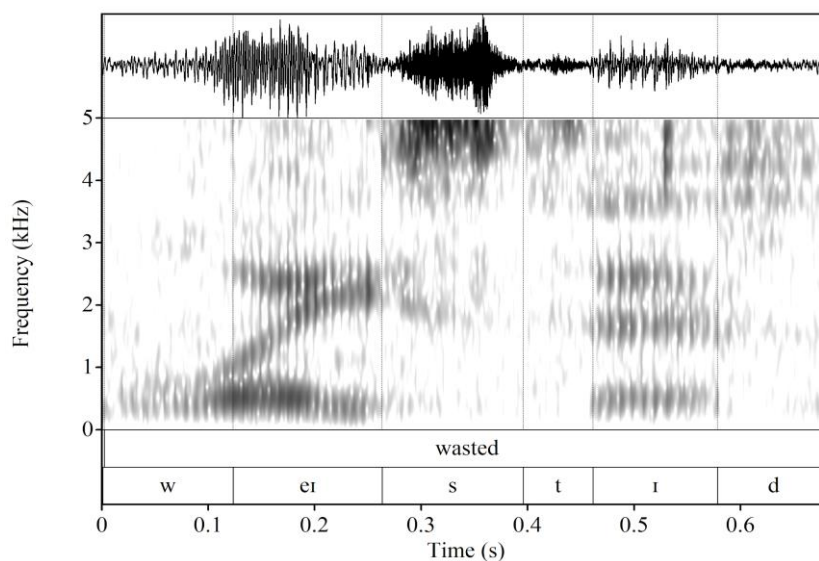


Figure 5.20 Spectrogram of Jon's production of "wasted" .

Jon's co-animated turn is produced above his baseline, as Dan's first animation had been, and becomes narrower and lower in range as the contribution comes to an end (see figure 5.21 below)

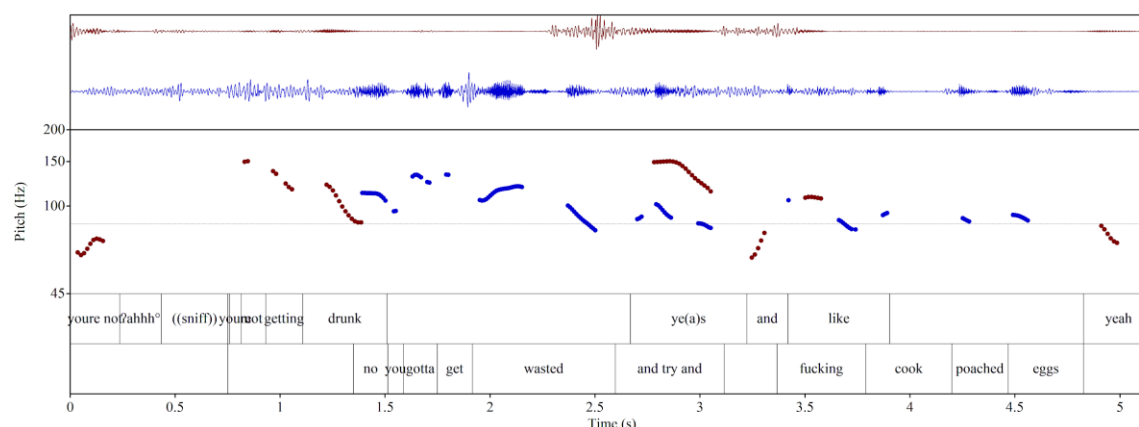


Figure 5.21 Waveform and f0 (Hz log) of the co-animated sequence. Midline applies to both speakers.

In lexico-grammatical terms, Jon's uptake of the pronoun "you" puts his voice in the "there-and-then" of the reported situation, as it is not addressed at Dan, but at the presenter, given Dan's own orientation to it. The preface "no" is an ambiguous form, on the one hand, it could be a dialogic form of independent agreement (Thompson et al., 2015) with Dan, while also be addressed towards the presenter whose actions are rejected. With this ambiguous "no", then, Jon is seen to be doing the dual job of a more canonical type of recipient response, and a co-animation that continues the participation frameworks of the first animation, while adding himself as a co-complainer. In this way, Jon seems to be associating himself further with Dan, and possibly, to the larger collective of disappointed viewers.

Unlike other cases in this collection, however, Jon's contribution retains elements of independent agency: the use of "no", the upgrading of Dan's "drunk" which is an intensification of Dan's point, and then his own continuation of the complaint. So Jon's identification with the collective is made manifest, with Jon associating and siding with Dan's complaint as reasonable, and validating it. Dan's own double "yeah" (line 36), each produced in an intonation phrase and closing-implicative creakiness and volume, seem to confirm Jon's spelling out of the complaint as what was being alluded to.

This section has then discussed how B-animated reformulations can take a prior A-animation and either a) provide a version that can be taken to be a differently-worded equivalent, a form of paraphrased repeat; or b) a version that upgrades, specifies details of the original animation. Even though this is not true for all cases, many paraphrased repeats present forms of prosodic and gestural matching but with integration, whereas upgraded forms may exhibit forms of prosodic upgrading or intensification, or prosodic matching.

The example below shows a form of prosodic matching and integration in a paraphrased reformulation. Liz and Charlotte are playfully seen to be taking leave of her weekend barbecue host after fictionally looting her kitchen from leftovers. Both versions present stylised contours, with a higher level followed by a lower one, but Liz's version is started and produced at a lower pitch height relative to Charlotte's "bye":

Example 5.16 RCECIGARETTE "Got a plate?" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

45 CHA <<f>↑↑**BY**:↓**E**:> haha
 46 LIZ haha ↓**SEE**' you ↑**LA**↓ter

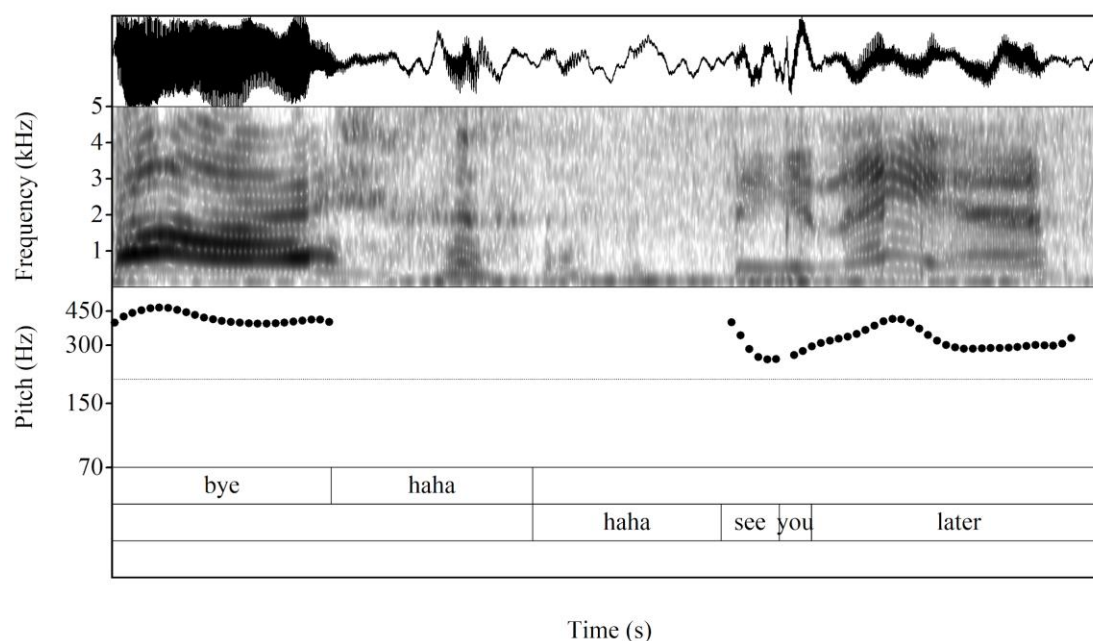


Figure 5.22 Phonetic visualisation of co-animated leave-taking. F0 is in Hz logarithmic; midline represents both speakers.

This illustrative example (MCY11LAPTOP "Bolo") of a process of an upgrading reformulation shows Ivan humorously assigning Lila a pseudonym. He proposes "Bolo", which leads to an extended sequence of mockery and joint fantasising that involves a case of an upgraded animation. Lila's upgraded version shows how a lexical and pragmatic upgrading ("my name is Bolo", line 29 > "everything about me is Bolo", line 32) is produced through prosodic matching, with both versions produced with a fall followed by a rise. The upgraded version, though, is produced much higher in pitch in absolute terms and with a much wider range (see figure 5.23 below).

Example 5.17 MCY11LAPTOP "Bolo" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```
28 IVA hihi ʔa hh°  
29 <<cr>↑Al[so my] `nAme is `BOlo,>  
30 LIL [(ey) ]  
31 hahahaha  
32 `Everything a[bout mE is (.)<<cr> `B:Olo>]
```

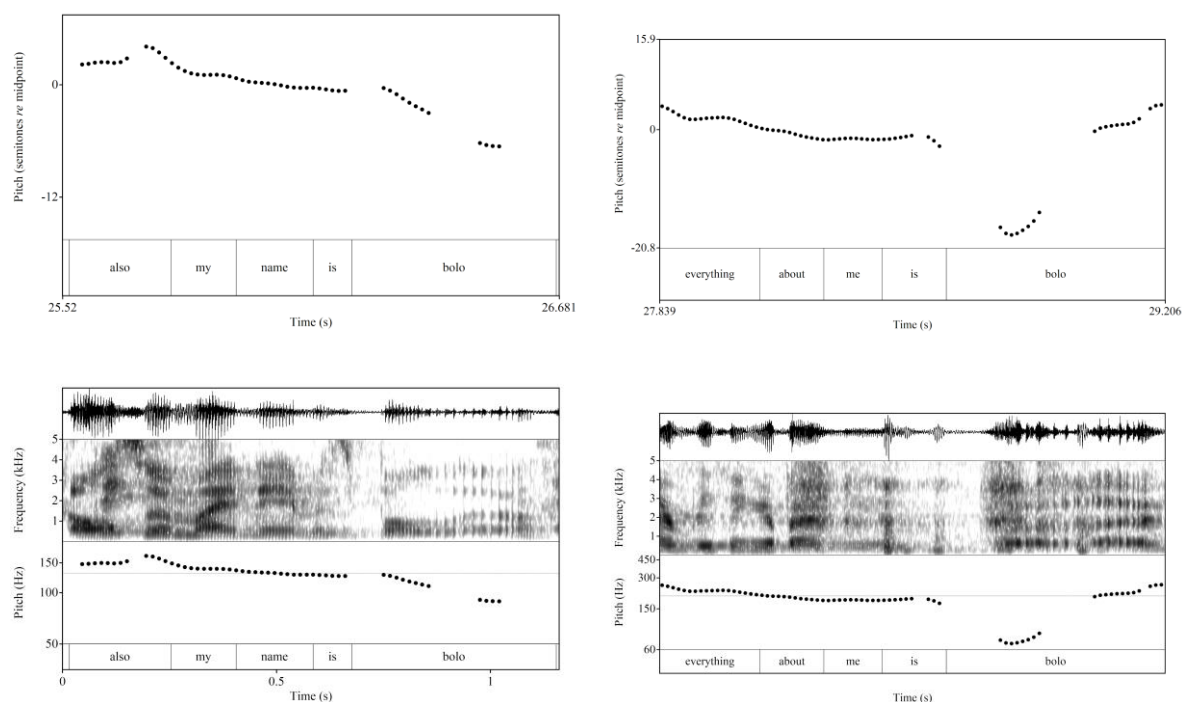



Figure 5.23 F0 traces (ST scaled to speakers' ranges; above) and waveform and spectrogram and absolute Hz log values (below) for co-animated turns

The word "Bolo" in this second version is produced with a noticeably longer period of closure for [b], lengthening also being one of the forms of intensification, though in this case it is not happening on the upgrading element "everything":

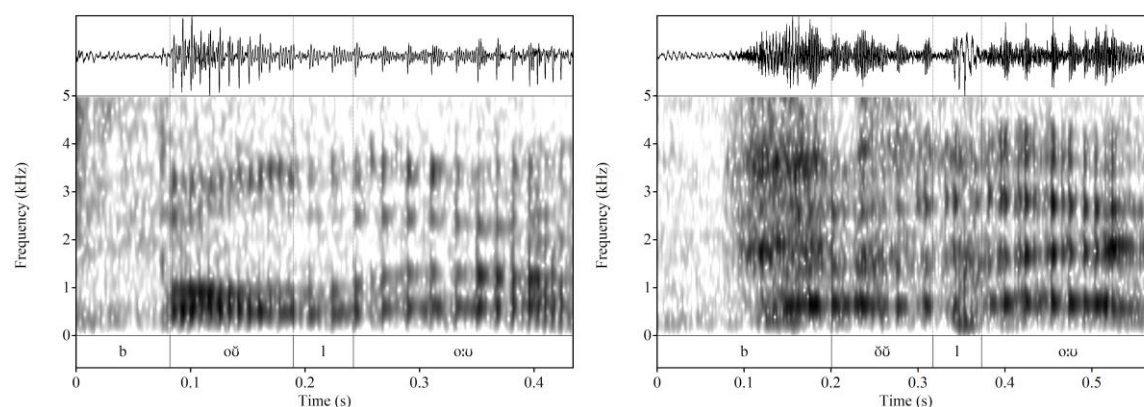


Figure 5.24 Comparison of temporal duration of Ivan's (left, line 29) and Lila's⁸ "Bolo" (right, line 32)

⁸ Lila's production is in overlap with Ivan's laughter, thus the noise in the second spectrogram

Formulations: summarising gist or explicating stance

Formulations (Antaki, 2007, 2008; Bolden, 2010; Deppermann, 2011b; Drew, 2003; Heritage & Watson, 1979; Persson, 2013; Vehviläinen et al. 2008; Weiste & Peräkylä, 2013) are said to “characterise the state of affairs already described or negotiated (in whole or part) in the preceding talk” (Heritage & Watson, 1979:125), so they provide a sense of the “talk thus far”. This is also relatable to what participants do when they provide allusions, that is, co-participants’ contributions become a “candidate observation, interpretation, or understanding of the recipient’s circumstances, current or past” (Schegloff, 1996a:180). Formulations are used to “generalise, abstract or specify meanings” (Deppermann, 2011b:116). In particular, formulations can either summarise the prior talk (*gist* formulations), or spell out “some unexplicated version of gist” (Heritage & Watson, 1979:134) by presenting implications or conclusions, what is known as *upshot* formulations. Thus, there are a number of different semantic-pragmatic operations applied on prior talk, such as glossing, “explicating, paraphrasing, clarifying, specifying, generalising, drawing inferences or conclusions” (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2017:OCF: 93)

Co-animators can demonstrate their understanding of the activity and stance in progress by producing an animation that summarises or gives a title, so to speak, to the issue at hand. This can often be done through an idiomatic expression, which is not surprising given that a) many of these formulations are closure-implicative as idiomatic expressions have been described to be (Drew & Holt, 1998), and b) idiomatic expressions are polyphonic resources.

Epistemically, though, formulations are said to be forms of deferring towards the superior knowledge of the prior speaker, which is also why they are treated as candidate understandings by creating a slot for confirmation in third position. The use

of co-animated formulations is again activity-specific: whereas reformulations were more widely found in joint fictionalisation and play, formulations are more frequently found in complaint and troubles stories.

These co-animated B-transformations in our collection use an idiomatic expression, a hypernym, or an adjective **that summarises in a different way the gist of the activity in progress** or just the previous animation, or **formulates explicitly what the wider issue or the stance appears to be**. This is a form of **generalisation or abstraction** (Deppermann, 2011b) that "names" the issue, comparable to what has been described as "notionalisations" (Deppermann, 2011a), the condensation of prior multi-unit descriptions into "abstract, timeless, and often agentless categorisations" expressed through a brief clause or a noun (phrase) and within a single TCU (p. 155).

In this way, co-animated formulations are seen to be **spelling out what the crux of a story, or the stance may be, by unpacking it and formulating it explicitly**. Some of these cases "articulate the unsaid". In her study of "and-prefaced formulations", Bolden (2010) explains how through these practices speakers both demonstrate understanding, while explicating something which is presented as having been implied in prior talk that needs to be presented before the formulation of agreement can be produced:

"the recipient of the extended informing indicates that he/she is not ready to provide a sequentially implicated response and that some as-of-yet unarticulated element of the informing needs to be confirmed first."(p.16)

In a practice like animation which is potentially risky in terms of alignment and epistemic entitlement, these formulations may be a way of gauging the nature or strength of the affiliative response, thus navigating problematic contexts when enough

access may be lacking. In this sense, the third slot is truly seen to be contributing to the equalisation of epistemic inequalities (Heritage & Raymond, 2005)

Some of the reduced sequences that exemplify these formulations appear below:

- a) Jon is retelling how complex it was to set up the electric connections for a show he was setting up at drama camp, and how a producer called Steve provided him with a console that would make his job easier. Dan “does be” Jon addressing Steve by explicating why he is assessed as “amazing”:
 - JON: Steve, you’re amazing > DAN: you saved my life
(MCY02BAR “You saved my life”)
- b) Evie is retelling a story she heard in high school as to how a natural disaster killed off a population of Huns that were kind and organised, and how the violent and disorganised Huns became the next generation of humans. Sam provides an animated formulation that explicates the regretful stance in Evie’s animated reaction to the story:
 - EVI: That explains so much > SAM: We could’ve been so good. (MCY20MUG “So good”)
- c) Jesse is self-animating the trouble of getting people to co-host his radio show, with Fiona mockingly making explicit the stance with which the request was routinely made:
 - JES: Please, come on my show > FIO: I’m desperate, please. (MCY04SANDWICH “Desperate”)
- d) Jesse is discussing his supervisor asking him to add a number of things to his chapter, which is already tight in words, but not take out anything from what he has already written. He animates his reaction to this, and Fiona chimes in by explicating the problem:

- o JES: What do you want me to do (name)? > FIO: Do you understand how page limits work? (MCY04SANDWICH "Page Limit")

e) Carol is telling her friend Mia about her disappointment at not having been walked home by her male friend, and Mia provides an idiomatic expression that sums up Carol's reaction:

- o CAR: Right, fine, then MIA: Chivalry is dead. (RCEBENCH "Chivalry")

In the next example, through co-animation, the co-participant explicates the stance (line 41) that a prior animation has been enacting (line 38), in this particular way, in what results like a form of joint teasing of the first animator. Jesse and Fiona have been discussing some ideas for Jesse's revamped radio show. Fiona has so far been offering suggestions, and Jesse at this point announces that his plans actually involve doing something similar to what he had done the previous year (lines 29-30), though establishing a contrast with prior times, saying how now they may get presenters and guests more easily (line 31, 32, 35), with a self-deprecating implication that the prior year he had to beg for participation (lines 37-38), which is animated.

Example 5.18 MCY04SANDWICH "Desperate" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

14 FIO um (0.3)
15 you could `Actually; d you you `KNOW,
16 and you could `DO some really ^INteresting stuff; (0.6)
17 with hAving an `ARtist on; = for the whole ^HOUR, (0.3)
18 ^h where you `could; (0.4) `YOU kno::w;
19 ^PLA:Y (0.7) their ↓mUsical ↑^INfluence:s
20 and ↓^TALK about i:t; (0.5)
21 JES `YEAH;
22 FIO <<cr> ?eh> and have a mIx of ^THA:T
23 wIth [their] `SO:NGS; and an::
24 JES [((clears throat))]

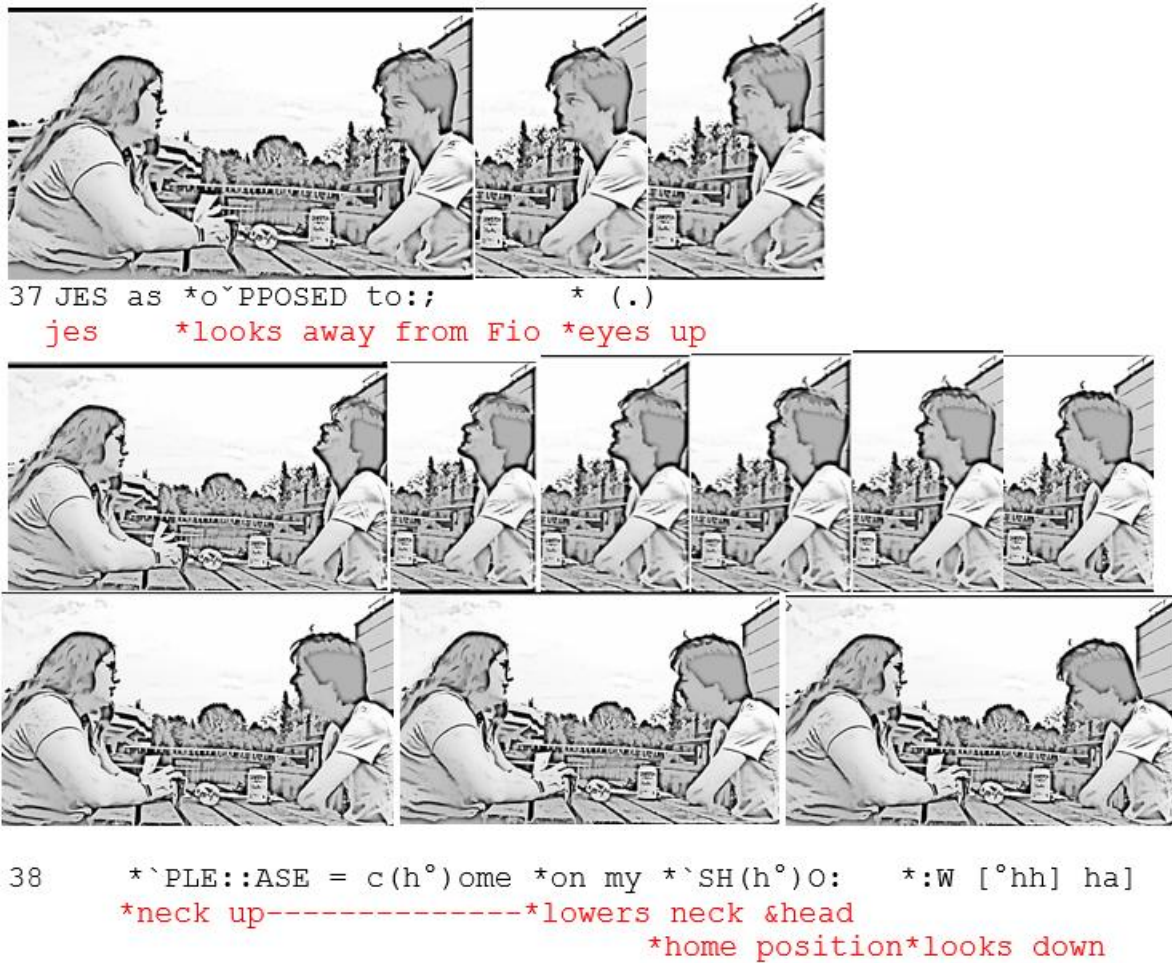
25 FIO `PRoMo them;;
26 <<l, cr> `TALK about; = w like their `GI::[GS;](.)=
27 JES [hh°]
28 FIO =`blAh blah `BLA:H>
29 JES its ^BASically gonna be whAt i `DID (0.6)
30 ~LAST year, (.)
31 but `NOW that (0.9)its `NOT jus:t; (0.4) ~ME:,=
32 =therell be a `pOol of pre[~SEN]ters,
33 FIO [`YE:AH.]
34 JES <<l,cr> ~HOPEfully,> (0.6)
35 `A:ND (.) nOw that we Actually `KNOW some people? hh° (0.4)
36 FIO `YE:AH.
37 JES as o`PPOSED to;; (.)
38 `PLE::ASE = c(h°)ome on my `SH(h°)OW [°hh ha]
39 FIO [ʔah°] ʔah° hahaha
40 JES °hh hh° °hh
41 FIO <<mod, raised larynx, velar>im `DESperate.(.)↑~PLE::ASE,>
(0.5)
42 ↓`YE:AH.
43 (1.75)
44 FIO `WHAT was <<l, pp> your `SHOW called agAin. >
45 JES the a`PEEL in your <<cr> `SHOW;>
46 FIO <
 Oh `YES::.. >
47 JES <<p,l> a ↓plAy on ↑jOhn `PEEL.>
48 (2.77)
49 FIO ↑wAs it on a `MONday;
50 JES <<cr> `YEAH.>
51 (2.86)

Until his animation begins (line 38), his projected stance is that of a contrast between a prior precarious situation (being only himself as a presenter, as implied in line 31) and a more favourable current one ("now that we actually know some people", line 35), which, though mitigated (line 34), appears to bear a sense of achievement. This implication is done with rising intonation and receives an on-beat marker of

agreement and recognition from Fiona (line 36). Jesse makes the contrast implicated earlier more explicit by nominalising the animation, “as opposed to (micropause) + [animation]” (line 37). He then Self-animates embodying a begging attitude which, even though it cannot be located specifically in time, it is meant to emulate and re-enact possible requests that could have been done, though possibly have not been formulated in that way in real life.

Jess’ embodied behaviour frames the boundaries of the reporting and somehow does begging iconically, with the head going up for “please”, gaze staying up, and a gradual movement down in three stages from its home position (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002), with each of the stages coinciding with the lexical words in the animation: “please” (where the peak of the head movement is), “come”, “show”, and his accompanying downstepped lowering of pitch. The animation finishes with his head in mid position for a short moment, followed by a group of bouncing head movements and a shrug that coincide with his outbreath and laughing particles. His animation is, thus, assessed by self as a laughable in its very delivery.

Example 5.18 MCY04SANDWICH “Desperate” (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



The shift in volume and pitch range into the actual reported speech is very noticeable, with a step up in pitch (15 semitone difference from the end of the host turn and the beginning of the animation, 5 ST higher than his midline) and higher volume on “please” (line 38) coinciding with the peak of the gesture (the iconic raising of head and an upward-looking gaze). In spite of no clear change in voice quality as in other cases of self-mockery in the collection, the boundaries of the animation are prosodically flagged and marked through these embodied means (see figure 5.25).

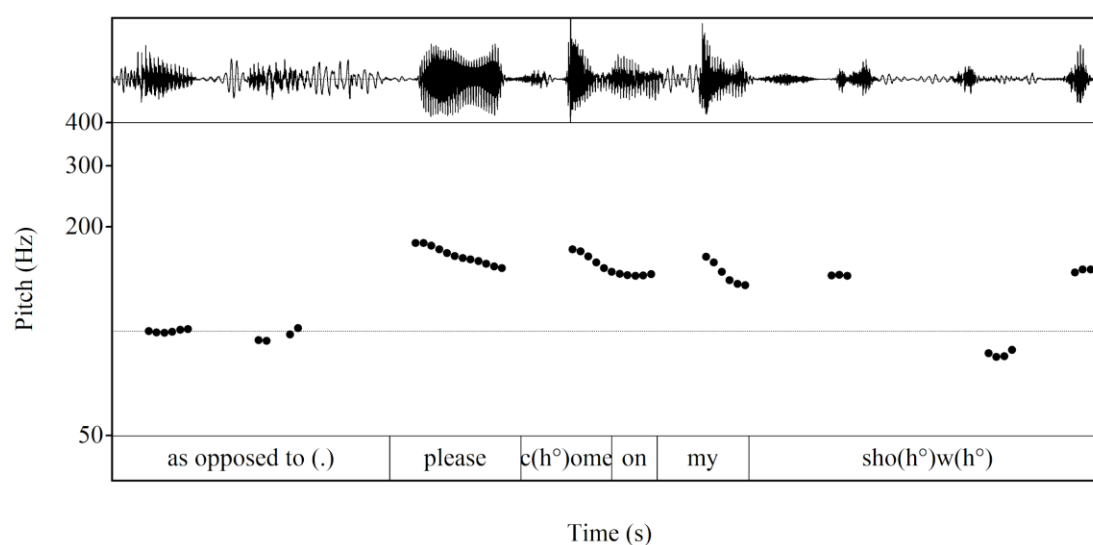


Figure 5.25 F0 trace (Hz log) of Jesse's quotative preface and Self-animation (lines 37-38)

Fiona takes up the begging attitude in Jesse's initial self-animation and animates her own baby-like, pouting, form of request as an increment to Jesse's own begging request (line 39). She explicates the stance in his embodied animation, using the assessment "desperate" to characterise her version of "doing being" Jess in that situation. The mocking tone of her animation is clear from its disjunctive delivery, both from her own modal values as well as those relative to Jesse's first animation: the sides of her lips are pressed (see figure 5.26 below), and there is a pressed, uvularised quality to her voice, relatable to someone supplicating, or whining, even a kid. Her pitch register during this animation is very high (7 semitones over her midline), both for her own range, and relative to Jesse's animation (see figures 5.27 and 5.28).



Figure 5.26 Fiona's pressed and pouting lip posture during her co-animation.

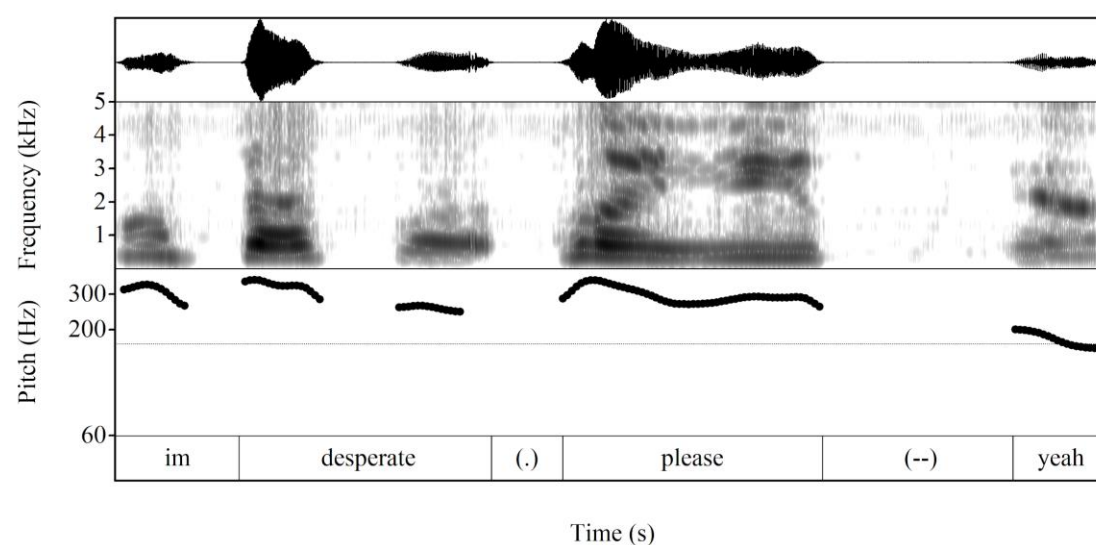


Figure 5.27 Waveform, spectrogram, and f0 trace (Hz log) of Fiona's animation.

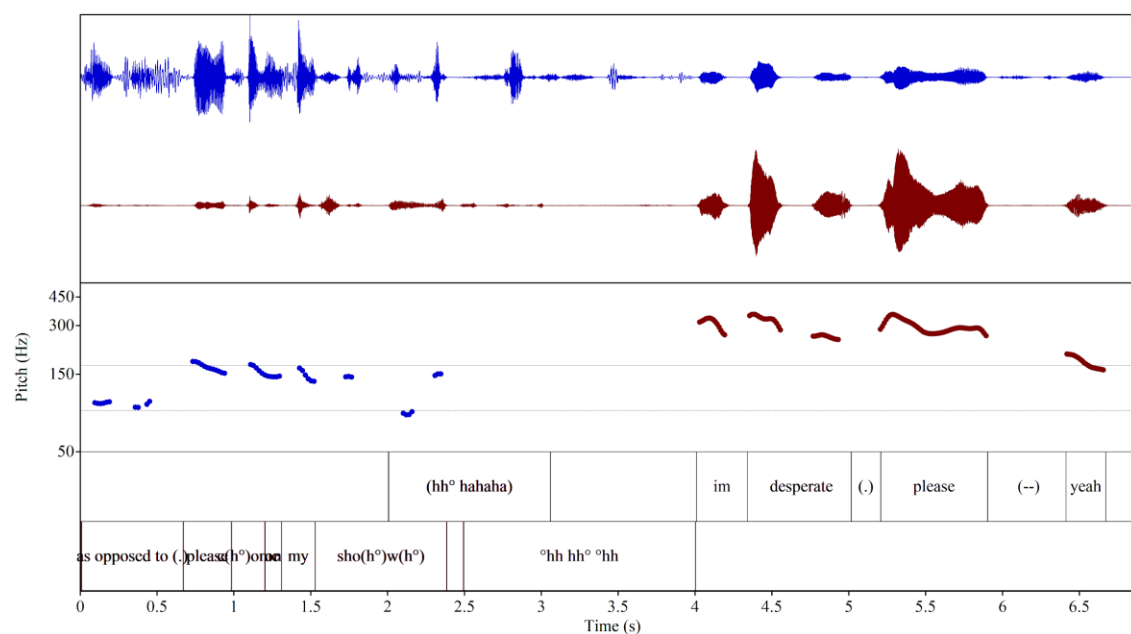
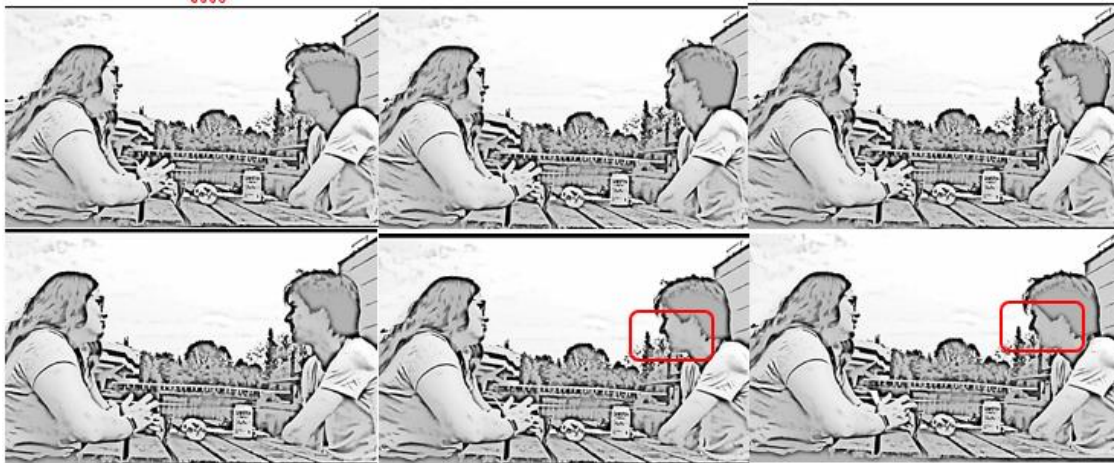


Figure 5.28 Comparative f0 trace of whole co-animated sequence. (Higher midline: Fiona's; Lower: Jesse's)

Therefore, prosodically, it does not tie back to the original production by Jess in a number of respects, and it introduces a greater measure of independent agency in the

production of this particular voice quality, but the word “desperate” unpacks and upgrades the implications in the previous, also with the repetition of “please” (line 41), which makes this a more independent contribution. Gesturally, her fixed posture is in stark contrast with Jess’s dramatic gestural and postural shifts during his self-animation.

Example 5.18 MCY04SANDWICH “Desperate” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```
41 FIO <<mod, raised larynx, velarised> +im `DES*perate. (.)↑~PLE:::ASE,>
    fio                                +>>>looks @Jes----->>
    jes                                *faint smile
```

Fiona’s animation is followed by a short half-a-second pause, and a pre-emptive “yeah” that seems to both mark understanding, that is, providing her own more canonical recipient response, and somehow also a closing. The fact that this does not seem to invite a laughing reaction from Jess during those milliseconds, and in fact, Jess does not reciprocate gaze but offers just traces of a faint smile on his part, could point at the following sequence being a way of self-sanctioning. Fiona’s “yeah” is followed by a lapse and two sequences that effectively bring the topic to a close. It seems that the laughable aspect of the begging is not to be left as the end of the topic. The mix of self-deprecation and sense of achievement projected in Jesse’s prior talk seems to become relevant at this point. A lapse follows, and Fiona recycles the name of his old

show (taking up Jesse's reference on line 29) and displays epistemic access by checking confirmation of her remembrance of its being broadcast on Mondays. This "doing remembering", apart from indexing her access and evoking common ground, appears to be a way to orient to possible face-damaging consequences of only having picked up on the deprecatory part of Jesse's talk, particularly given Jesse's restrained/limited reaction to Fiona's co-animation that only appears to appreciate the joke but in a more po-faced manner (Drew, 1987).

The cases that do formulation are perhaps the most varied in processes of prosodic and gestural orientation, and this may be due to their being more agentive and independent contributions on the part of the responsive co-animators. The forms of format-tying and the parameters that co-participants apply on their co-animations are highly dependent on first animations, but they are notably more disjunctive than the other groups.

This section has reviewed the semantic processes that contribute to the hearability of post-possible-completion animated responses as continuations of the animation of the same voice in the just-immediately-prior turn/TCU by the prior speaker. Forms of reformulation, upgrading, summarising, and extending prior animations have been described as interactionally-defined semantic processes that through co-animation appear to fulfil the conditional relevance of affiliation and do an active demonstration of understanding in a way that is closely related to the activity in progress (see Chapters 6 and 7). These forms of continuation index different levels of epistemic access and their design displays their agentive and epistemic access and entitlement differentials, some of which show a deference to the K+ status of the producer of prior talk (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017), and others who incorporate new courses of action.

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5.5 Final remarks on responsive animations and their orientation to first animations

It was already stated in previous chapters that responsive co-animation is a form of response that co-participants have selected over other possible responsive options, and one which acts as a bid for association. It was pointed out that co-animated responses simultaneously demonstrate understanding and offer an affiliative response that is confirmed generally in third position to have satisfied the conditional relevance set up in the ongoing course of action by the first animator.

This chapter aimed at discussing, first, how co-animated responses orient to first animations to ensure the hearability of these contributions as completions or continuations of the animation of the same voice. In studying these design features, it was shown how co-participants made use of position and composition to navigate potential interactional risks around epistemic access and entitlement in favour of affiliation. It was also revealed how the tension between distributed and independent agency is present, as participants juggle the demands of coherence with the conditional relevance at the points of their incoming.

In exploring the epistemic and relational affordances of co-animations used as responses, it was determined that design features are positionally-sensitive, seen particularly around lexico-grammatical and prosodic design differences in the co-animations formatted as pre-emptive completions, versus those presented as post-possible-completion re-openings of the animation space. In both groups of responsive animations, participants were seen to be drawing on epistemic and affective ground co-constructed earlier in talk.

It was established that pre-emptive completions are more interactionally risky in terms of becoming possible disaffiliative miscalculations, but it was shown that B-completions come after a scene is being prepared with a number of elements that have facilitated projectability and access: compound TCUs, semantic contrasts and dichotomies, beat gestures and rhythmic templates, release of gestures and gaze shifts at juncture points. These cues are oriented to by B, who co-animates by completing ongoing TCUs in the clear, or chorally in overlap. This collection reveals that temporal and gestural features in pre-completion completions are made relevant by co-participants and are deployed to different ends, including the indexing of juncture spaces where B could come in, and the joint management of entitlement differentials, particularly in third position or in the phonetic and durational design during the choral production.

Post-possible completion animations in responsive position reveal B's orientation to an already fully available stance and conditional relevance projected by A. In this respect, this is a less risky position to "do being another". However, they are still a potentially disaligning action, given that B is seen to be adopting the role of the main teller/complainer in situations in which they may not hold first hand-access or entitlement, or upgrade levels of ridicule when they were made to go second in joint fictionalisations or playful teasing. However, the responsive co-animation more frequently goes unsanctioned, as these co-animations are treated as equally successful attempts in third position by the original animator.

Post-possible completion animations are also more independent kind of responses, given that the "menu" of design choices is wider than in pre-completion position. Through responsive animations designed as extensions, formulations, or reformulations of first animations, co-participants are heard to be more agentively managing their "going second" by not "merely going along" (Heritage & Raymond,

2005) with the terms of the first animation -though forms of deference to possible higher epistemic rights by A are traceable-, but proposing their own independent designs that lay claims to the co-ownership of the stance projected and ongoing course of action in a way that keeps the coherence between both contributions hearable. Chapters 6 and 7 will discuss how this works in relational terms during the development of specific activities, and what the benefits of doing this through animation and not other means would be.

Even though these contrastive completions, formulations, reformulations, and extensions are anchored and cohere with the design and the logic of the there-and-then of the animation space, in their composite nature they also appear to unpack and explicate aspects of the projected stance towards the animated content, and to orient to this in the here-and-now. By explicating in a responsive position what a prior animation or big package amounts to, and using the animation space to do so, co-participants are found to display their full involvement in the activity to the extent of blurring, albeit momentarily, the duality of their participation roles, in that they do "a public display of agreed intersubjectivity" and act like a kind of "sociological glue" (Antaki 2008:31 on Garfinkel & Sacks 1970).

This re-opening of the animation space and the frequent presence of a confirming third-position slot points at how animations actually are interactional objects that get jointly manipulated for social purposes. In all cases, animations become co-owned objects with contributions by both co-participants in which both co-participants have not only a say but a hand in their final distributed design, smoothing any epistemic differentials, and foregrounding the affiliative needs of the here-and-now in a way that they are both seen to be acting as and voicing a single party (i.e. associating).

6. Co-animations as empathic and associative responses in indirect complaints and troubles-tellings

6.1 Introduction

The two previous chapters focused on how co-participants index their animation as such and make their co-animated responses recognisable through sequential and multimodal design configurations that resonate with the design of first animations. It was also explained how design and positional matters are used to manage epistemic differentials. In this and the next chapter, we will zoom out and focus not just on the local sequential configuration of co-animations, but also on the overall sequence organisation of the activities in which co-animation is embedded in the collection, in order to examine how co-animation is occasioned, and what kinds of social-relational actions it effects.

The social actions associated with first animations and their responsive co-animations must be seen within the macro-sequential context in which they happen. Therefore, this chapter describes some of the defining sequential features of complaint stories and troubles-telling, where animations have been found to play a role (Drew, 1998; Drew & Walker, 2009; Golato, 2002; Günthner, 1997; Haakana, 2006), in order to zoom in at the point in the ongoing activity where the first animations by A arise and the responsive animations happen.

It will be claimed that in the development of (generally) climactic moments of escalation in troubles-telling and indirect complaint sequences, after some form of

(minimal) affiliation from B and sufficient epistemic grounding around the nature of the complainable/trouble have generally been secured, the complainant (A) may offer an enactment of an absent party and their sanctionable behaviour (the latter in complaint stories only), and/or their own reaction to the trouble described through an affect-laden animation of themselves at a different place and time. This animation of A at this point of escalation makes relevant another, possibly stronger, form of affiliative response, which B offers in the shape of a continued animation of the voice of Self. These co-animations of the voice of A are generally oriented to in third position as having offered a satisfactory affiliative response to the telling of the complaint/trouble.

The macro-sequential environment leading up to these co-animation sequences reveals how complainers and troubles-tellers orient to the delicacy of the moral issues invoked by presenting themselves as victims, and others as transgressors. The steps in the larger sequence but also the granular and vivid design features of the animation by A contribute to securing a matching affiliative empathic and endorsing response by B that fulfils the conditional relevance and also indexes association through co-animation, with B acting as if they had been a co-experiencer "doing being A(+B)", an important finding in this chapter.

Through the study of the design and sequential organisation of co-animation in these activities, this chapter will foreground association as a relational consequence of the deployment of co-animation in the joint management of legitimacy, fairness, what constitutes a jointly sanctionable or troublesome issue, and empathy.

6.2 Troubles-tellings and indirect complaint stories

Even though sometimes treated together, troubles-tellings may involve complaints, and complaints may emerge from what might appear to be initially a troubles-telling episode. This chapter will discuss both types of activities together, as animation is deployed at relatively comparative points in their development, but it needs to be pointed out that a subtle differentiation is relevant for our work: although both types exhibit an animation of Self by A, in complaint stories this voice of A is more often presented in second position, as part of a reported interaction, with the first position occupied by the animation of the voice of the complaineer.

Jefferson & Lee (1980: viii) define troubles-talk as “members’ talk about situations and events that are seen as distressful and disruptive of the routines of everyday life, but which are essentially self-manageable”. An earlier definition by Emerson & Messinger, (1977) also highlights the *deviant* side of troubles, the recognition of “something wrong”, emphasising how talking about troubles is largely about a participant defining the actual problem and its dimension, whose seriousness is in a way determined in terms of what would constitute a suitable *remedy* for it. In line with this view, as cited in Chapter 3, work by Golato (2002) on self-quotation in German focuses on how participants report their troubles and subsequently animate their own decisions in response to those troubles. Similarly, Haakana (2007) identifies uses of reported thoughts of Self in response to complaints and troubles as a common interactional strategy. So the animation of the voice of Self, particularly as a response or reaction to the trouble, comes to enact a decision or affective reaction to the trouble towards the remedy sought.

The formulation of troubles and complaints, activities that involve a negative evaluation of an event or behaviour, bring past situations to the here-and-now, which is why animation as a resource for enactment -and not description- becomes relevant. This formulation entails making a personal issue in a participant’s intimate sphere

become a *relational* issue (Drew, 1998; Emerson & Messinger, 1977), a *public phenomenon* that is open for scrutiny, and in this lies the conditional relevance of an affiliative, empathic, response (see the discussion of morality and affiliation in section 6.3 below). This is one feature in common with complaints.

The following example -whose design features were discussed in detail in Chapter 5- reveals some of the characteristics of troubles-tellings and complaints described so far: how complainables emerge through the telling of troubles that disrupt a sense of "normality", how intimate matters are made public through this activity, and how co-participants can take ownership of the troubles of others indexing them as shared.

Angie is discussing her levels of stress at university, and introduces her inability to keep up with her chores during the exam period. Karen displays understanding through a smile and nodding upon Angie's admittance to not keeping up with her laundry. Karen introduces a collaborative completion with a synonym expression ("mess", line 9) while Angie is assessing the situation as "chaos" (line 8), and moves on to pre-emptively and through stylisation and a falsetto voice quality animate herself complaining about a list of other chores that get unattended (lines 11-13), expanding on Angie's initial "all my washing and stuff" (line 3). Angie acknowledges and thus accepts Karen's illustration of what "chaos" may mean (line 12), but immediately after, she changes footing to add the third element to what has now become a collaborative list (line 13), also with falsetto voice.

Example 6.1 MCY07BOTTLE "Pants" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
01 ANG wha? i m what i `need to do `after exams,  
02   (and make sure)  
03   `a:ll those kind of little `things; =  
04   = that you need to `do:. °h (0.2)  
05   (im/and) im the `worst; cause ¯like=
```

06 =especially on e˘xam week,
 07 (it could) be like all my ˘washing and stuff,
 08 its like building ˘up;
 09 =(and im like) ˘no?; °hh
 10 (ill do it h°after exa? ?i)
 11 i dun˘no = (its just b˘like?.)
 12 by the ˘end all my whole ˘life is this ˘cha[os]
 13 **KAR** [a ˘me::;]
 14 **ANG** cause im [˘just like;] °ahh
 15 **KAR** [(a ↓˘mess.)]
 16 **ANG** i [˘need to ˘learn to->]
 17 **KAR** [(its like) **theres** ↓˘no ˘food in the]
 ↑˘fri:[dge=↓i(ve) got]
 18 **ANG** [↑˘ye:ah]
 19 **KAR** ˘no clean ↑˘pant[s:]
 20 **ANG** [(ive)]
 21 [been ↓liv]ing off ↑˘pizza for the [last wee::k]
 22 **KAR** [°ahh] [˘ye::a:h.]=
 23 =[2i ↓havent] been to the ↑˘g:ym in a mon[th]=
 24 **ANG** [i?h°?h°?h°]
 25 =[˘i] ˘kno[:w,]
 26 **KAR** [˘its]
 ↓˘tru::e;

Karen's initiation of the list, and Angie's "chiming in" retrospectively show a display of this being a "shared voice" that can be associated with both of them as a collectivity, in a recognisable situation of "self-abandonment" of control of their routine for both, as co-victims of the effects of exam weeks.

Complaints in particular may also share with troubles-telling the *disruption of routine norms*, but complainants ascribe the blame to a particular individual who is presented to be *deliberately transgressing* those norms (Drew, 1998), and the presentation of this will differ whether these are direct-complaints, that is, accusations addressed to the

complainee directly (Dersley & Wootton, 2000), or indirect complaints about an absent third party, the latter being the focus of this chapter. Complaints involve “feelings of discontent about some state of affairs, for which responsibility can be attributed to ‘someone’” (Heinemann & Traverso, 2009), and have been defined as “negatively loaded narratives about somebody who is not present in the current interaction” (Haakana, 2007:154). This is another feature that makes animations relevant, as they can bring the behaviour of the complained-about parties to the here-and-now, and make them immediate and real for a story recipient who may be cast as a witness as evidence to “see for themselves” (Clift, 2007; Couper-Kuhlen, 2007; Drew, 1998). So indirect complaints then introduce an element not present in troubles-tellings: the animation of the transgressor or offender. Therefore, complaint stories are highly moral and delicate issues, as complainants may be held accountable for any unfairness in judging a third party (Edwards, 2005; Ruusuvuori, Asmuß, Henttonen, & Ravaja, 2019; also see next section). Given that anything can emerge as a potential complainable (Schegloff, 2005), the transgressions may be of different kinds, from major offences or grievances, to more mundane forms of behaviour or personality traits that may be presented as sanctionable.

The following example (already introduced in Chapters 1, 4 and 5) shows two features of indirect complaints in the collection: first, the reporting of a behaviour by an absent third party that is treated as sanctionable, and then, the animated dialogue with an animated voice of Self as a response to the complainee, and co-animation of the voice of Self by a co-participant who has not witnessed the retold situation first-hand. Karen and her friend Angie have been discussing the troubles and issues around long-distance relationships. Karen is now reporting her conversation with her Mum about her plans of moving together with her long-distance boyfriend who lives abroad and would be settling in the UK with her. This animated interaction is prefaced through an idiomatic expression formatted with creaky voice and lower volume as a parenthetical

("mums are mums, aren't they?", line 4), alluding to a feature or an assessment that should be a recognisable feature of "mothers" that Angie acknowledges with her "hm" (line 6). This is anticipating a possible stance towards which Angie is invited to affiliate with at the story closing.

Example 6.2 MCY07BOTTLE "Calm down" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)


```

01 KAR <<sty, fals, :-)> ↑↑ˉBUT ↓ˉYEAH- hh°
02     we ll ˉSEE how it gOes;
03     <<all> like i was tAlking to> my ˉPArents,
04     my uh? (0.3) <<l, cr> mUms are ˉmUms. = ↓ˆAREnt they,>
05     and ↑[ˉSHE] was uh° (0.3)
06 ANG     [ˉHM ]
07 KAR gEtting ↑all exˆCIted about the idEa that <<br,p> °h lih°ke>
08     °ah <<mod,h, br> we ll be ↑sEtting ˆDOWN to-gEther= >
09     =<<l>and ˉI was like? >
10     ↑jUst ↓cAlm ˆD[O:WN:,]
11           [ˆYEAH;]
12 ANG <<cr, l>cAlm [ˆDOWN,]
13 KAR           [tsahh°]
14 ANG [ˆdOnt get too aˆHEAD] of your sElf??>
15 KAR [ˆnhh           ]
16     eˆXACT[ly; ]
17           [ˆMM.]
18     because <<all>(it felt) like of (our)>↑twO: yE:ar
19     reˆLAtionship; (0.3)
20     weVe ˆActually only been in the sAme place
21     for ˆONE year,
22ANG ˆYE::AH;
23KAR theres nothing ˆCE:Rtain about our relAtionship;
24     ˆOnly that we re -CErtain:: (0.5)
25     <<all> we want to ˆtrY and make it ˆWOR[Kh°? ]>
26ANG           [ˆM:m.]
27     (0.64)

```

Karen first introduces the complainable behaviour of the mother (lines 7-8), who is presented as possibly not being cautious enough. This is formatted in a manner that mixes direct reported and indirect reported speech, through the stylised prosody used and change of voice quality reminiscent of direct reported speech, but with the use of “we” in line 8, which overlays a first person perspective. The next animated voice is that of a displaced Self (line 10) in a more cautious tone, with a sequence of downward-looking open palm beat gestures aligned with each of the words in the directive, exhibiting rhythmic scansion (see figure 6.2 below) and an iconic representation of “slowing down”.

Example 6.2 MCY07BOTTLE “Calm down” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

09      =and I was *like?                *10 *↑jUst *↓cAlm *~D[O:*WN:,]*
      kar                *LH palm raised*  *beat1  *beat2 *beat3*beat4*LHdown>
11 ANG                                +[~YEAH; ]= 12 +cAlm [~DOWN,]
      ang                                +nod      +nod
13 KAR                [tsahh~]
14 ANG [~dOnt get too a~HEAD] of your*sElf?>
      kar >-----*LHretracted
15 KAR [~nhh ]
  
```

Karen’s self-animated voice is heard to be responding to her mother’s display of enthusiasm, but as will be said later, it is not always clear whether this is presented as a response provided at the time when the complainable behaviour was produced (in situ), or as an animated response of her affective reaction to it as is relevant to the telling now, what Selting (2010:233) discusses as the tension between the “reporting of affects from the story world” with “the negotiation of in-situ affects in the here-and-now of the storytelling situation”.

As Karen's self-animation is underway, at a point of recognitional overlap (Jefferson, 1984a), Angie produces her recipient token of agreement and support ("yeah", line 11), and in the clear, she is heard to be "doing being" Karen by repeating the wording of her first animation of Self ("calm down", line 12), and providing a reformulated version of what the complainable is ("don't get too ahead of yourself", line 14), keeping the lexico-grammatical directive formulation. This repetition + reformulation begins relatively on-beat, and at a pitch height that is in both relative and absolute terms matching Karen's. In other words, Angie's co-animated response is prosodically integrated but also later exhibits prosodic matching of the rising contour found in Karen's original "calm down", as figure 6.1 below shows:

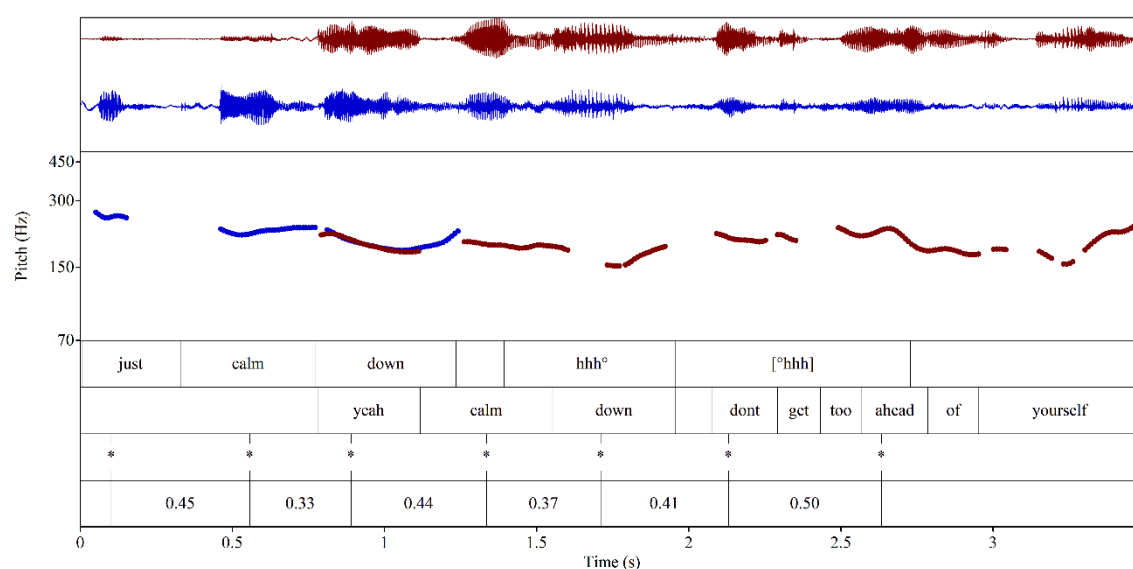


Figure 6.1 Rhythmic integration and prosodic matching of the "calm down" turns.

Angie's response provides on the one hand, a form of support and endorsement of Karen's stance, treating her response as justifiable, which in turn shows an orientation to the delicate issues around complaining parties, where complainants may be held accountable for any unfairness in judging a third party (Edwards, 2005; Ruusuvuori et al., 2019). In spite of not having primary epistemic access to the events in the telling

though having been invited to insert herself empathetically with her knowledge of mothers' behaviour earlier on in the narrative with the idiomatic expression, Angie associates with Karen by "doing being Karen" in that situation, formatting her response in a way that it is prosodically incorporated to Karen's, and her recipient response is found to be satisfactory by Karen with "exactly", and followed by an account (lines 16-24).

This example also reveals some of the issues that will be expanded on in this chapter: how stances and the nature of the complainable/trouble are made available in some form early on before the animation (in this case with an adumbration and request for recognition of the issue in line 4 "mums are mums, aren't they?"), and how the animation of both the transgressor and the voice of Self and the granularity of their design mobilise a response that sees co-participants keeping the animation open by "doing being" their interlocutors and self-aggregating to their (joint) affective and moral claims.

6.3 Morality, legitimacy, and affiliation concerns in troubles-tellings and complaints

It has been established already how troubles-tellers and complainants make a private matter public through their tellings, and how these deal with deviations from norms that require some form of remedy or redress. Occasions where troubles-tellings and indirect complaint stories are developed impose a number of moral demands on both tellers and recipients, and this section will discuss what these morality issues are in preparation for the later analysis of sequential and design strategies that participants deploy to manage them, the use of animation and its positioning in particular being a relevant one.

Because of its public nature when introduced in interaction, the formulation of a complaint is a delicate matter, as it is an activity that involves morality judgements (Drew, 1998; Ruusuvuori et al., 2019) that set recipients as witnesses. Tellers present themselves as victims, in ways that are deprecating to their public image because of their being wronged by someone else who is seen as an offender, or hurt by a particular situation. Recipients could be sanctioned for their remaining neutral or indifferent to such extreme things.

Thus, making one's troubles and complaints public means making oneself vulnerable to the reactions of others (Heinemann & Traverso, 2009), which implies that even though these activities make relevant a form of affiliative empathic or endorsing response that involves "taking sides" with the teller by agreeing with the terms of the complaint or the seriousness of the trouble and the reprehensibility of the actions of third parties (Drew, 1998; Drew & Walker, 2009; Heinemann & Traverso, 2009), there is always the latent risk of recipients aligning with transgressors instead or of the responses not being on a par, in affective terms, with the seriousness of the trouble. Mobilising these supportive kinds of resources requires delicate work on the part of the complainer/trouble victim, so the contextualisation of indignation or pain stances needs to be made tangible to the co-participant. This is resonant with Goffman's (1974) view of framing and empathetic insertion:

"what the individual spends most of his spoken moments doing is providing evidence for the fairness or unfairness of his current situation and other grounds for sympathy, approval, exoneration, understanding, or amusing. And what his listeners are primarily obliged to do is to show some kind of audience appreciation. They are to be stirred not to take action but to *exhibit signs that they have been stirred*."(p.503, *our italics*)

However, it is not only an aggravating party whose behaviour is being described or enacted that is being judged, but also that of the complainer/troubles-teller, whose

fairness, accuracy, legitimacy in the description of events is likewise being assessed by the complaints recipient, as Drew (1998) remarks:

“in the (interactional) circumstances in which we report our own or other’s conduct, our descriptions are themselves accountable phenomena through which we recognisably display an action’s (im)propriety, (in)correctness, (un)suitability, (in)appropriateness, (in)justice, (dis)honesty... Additionally, our accounts may themselves be evaluated in those terms...” (Drew, 1998:295)

So in complaints in particular, but also in the telling of troubles, part of the work being done by speakers involve managing aspects of subjectivity (Edwards, 2005), that is, not only in terms of the stance projected onto the trouble/complainee through what is a report of behaviour/state of affairs, but also, in terms of the legitimacy and seriousness of the matter, to avoid being heard as “moaning, whinging, ranting, biased, prone to complaining, paranoid, invested, over-reacting, over-sensitive” (Edwards, 2005:5). As the following sections will demonstrate, this is managed both through sequential organisation, and the deployment and design of animation with high levels of vividness and granularity to “stir” recipients to display their empathetic and/or endorsing stances. So by “doing being” others, animating in a way that they are seen to be reacting in the same way as if they were there, recipients seem to be “normalising” the reported reactions of the victims as a means of also legitimising the complaint or the trouble.

However, the recipient may be in a dilemma when it comes to finding a suitable affiliative response (Traverso, 2009) and its degree of commitment to the position presented, as in responding to troubles-telling or complaint stories, a co-participant is negotiating what constitutes shared values and a shared understanding of what constitutes a disruption of social norms. In this respect, Heritage (2011) has found that recipients are found to offer responses along a continuum that goes from more

detached and independent empathic responses (Heritage, 2011; Kupetz, 2014; Kuroshima & Iwata, 2016; Pudlinski, 2005; Webb et al., 2018) into more “into-the-moment” ones displaying greater involvement. These responses go from minimal acknowledgement, my-side assessments, second stories, into forms of make-believe witness “observer accounts” -the closest to co-animations, but see discussion in the remainder of this chapter- and response cries. Figure 6.2 offers a schematisation of Heritage’s 2011 continuum, with the addition of co-complaining in the extreme of “more involved” responses.

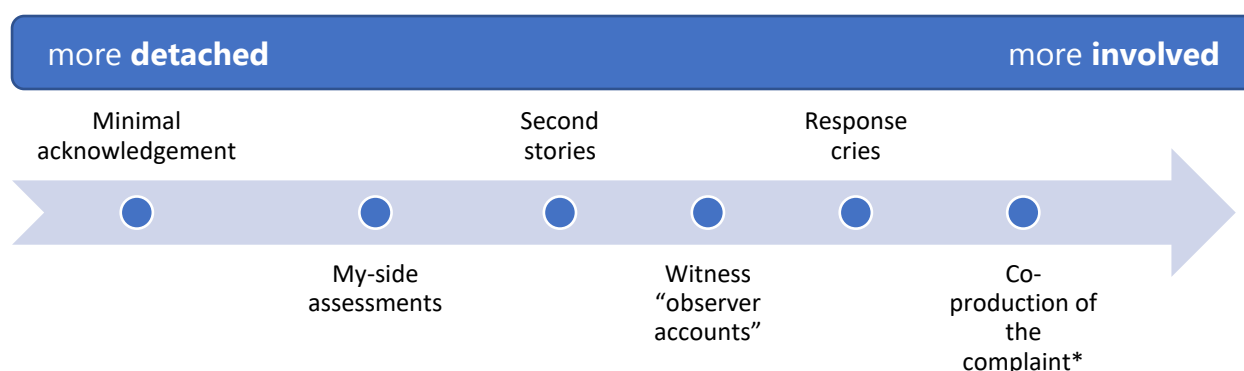


Figure 6.2 Schematisation of Heritage's (2011) continuum of empathetic responses. The “co-production of the complaint” item is our addition.

The co-production of the complaint (Drew, 1998; Drew & Holt, 1988; Ogden, 2010), not considered in Heritage, appears to lie in the “into-the-moment” extreme of the empathic response continuum. However, co-complaining does not necessarily need to be done in the form of an animation, so co-animating as a response, then appears to go beyond a sympathetic acknowledgement or an independent “my side” assessment of events or indexing of shared experiences in that it enacts -rather than describe or explicitly assess- the moral issues found to be shared with a true, iconic even, empathetic insertion. It might be wondered why and how this kind of response is achieved. It is not just the deployment of animation and what doing a form of

enactment entails, but its deployment in a *particular point in the sequence and the features of its design* that mobilises this particular kind of response.

This section has introduced some of the moral issues that can become interactionally relevant during complaint stories and troubles-tellings, and that lay the ground for our more in-depth analysis of the role of (co)animation in these activities, particularly in terms of social and relational actions. The next sections will reveal how these moral issues are negotiated through an overall stepwise sequential organisation, laying bare the organisation of the deployment of animation in a particular moment of the activity, and the choice of animated voices and their design, all of which result in co-participants temporarily associating into a single unit of participation.

6.4 Sequential organisation and the joint management of morality through (co)animation

It was established earlier how the delicacy and moral nature of complaints and troubles-telling, and the relevance of an empathic and endorsing response leads complainants/troubles-tellers to manage these issues through sequence organisation and turn design. It was illustrated in section 6.3 how tellers anticipate affective and evaluative stances towards the trouble in different ways (e.g. MCY07BOTTLE "Calm Down") before producing stronger or more vivid versions of the complaint/trouble through animation. These cases reveal two key features of complaint and troubles-telling sequences: 1) their cautious and stepwise development, that is, their being done in a "series" (Drew, 1998; Drew & Holt, 1988; Jefferson, 1988; Traverso, 2009) that reveal a transition in the formulation of something from "misfortune" into a public formulation of a complaint (Drew, 1998; Emerson & Messinger, 1977; Traverso, 2009), facilitating an early recognition of a projected stance, and 2) their potential for escalation (Drew & Holt, 1988). In short, complaints and troubles-tellings have been

described as extended collaborative and bounded sequences of evolving order, with differing levels of explicitness and escalation towards a pursuit for stronger forms of affiliation until closure is jointly achieved.

Jefferson (1988) provides a detailed description of recurrent “elements” that appear ordered in troubles-telling in a candidate sequence that marks “a trajectory that involves participants’ alignment to the trouble vis-à-vis attention to routine conversational requirements and properties, and...a correlated alignment of participants vis-à-vis each other” (p.418). Jefferson observes a tension between “attending to the trouble and attending to the business as usual” (p.419). Complaints and troubles telling, particularly in terms of their stepwise, intensity-building incrementation, share a number of basic sequential stages, discussed in prior research (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012a; Drew & Walker, 2009; Jefferson, 1988; Traverso, 2009). Of interest to us is how first animations come to be deployed, and how co-animations orient to the action features that prompted the first animation to happen. A schematic representation of the general kind of sequential organisation leading to the animation, and resulting from it, based on prior research and shaped by our collection, appears in table 6.1 below.

Initiation

1. A: "Adumbration" of troubles or complaints, underspecified
2. B: Affiliation OR
Negotiation of the terms of the complaint/trouble
3. A: Topicalisation of the trouble
4. B: (Minimal) Affiliation

Core: Development, Escalation

5. A: Escalation, specification, enhancement, exemplification of the trouble/complainable through animation:
 - o (Complaints only:
Voice of the transgressor/offender)
 - o (Complaints AND troubles-telling:
Voice of A's affective reaction/decision)
6. B: Affiliative response involving co-animation of voice of A

Closure, exit

7. A: Confirmation OR
Embedded correction OR
Progressivity onto next "order of business"

Table 6.1 Schematic overall sequence organisation of troubles-tellings and complaint stories in the collection.

The cases in our collection of complaints/troubles-tellings differ in the length of these stages, and in the presence or absence of recurrent elements, at times presented in loops (particularly for the initiation stage). The escalation stage may feature a single sequence of co-animation, or expanded sequences of co-animation with incremental contributions from both co-participants. There is greater variability in the kinds of actions carried out in the closure stage, where initial complainers/tellers leave the animation space and the complaint in different ways, in a stepwise or otherwise disjunctive transition into the next topical and action sequences.

This section will illustrate the sequence by presenting one key example stage by stage, offering comparable examples in later sub-sections.

6.4.1 Initiation: indexing upcoming complainables

The sequence often begins with a complaint initiation or facilitation (Ruusuvuori et al., 2019; Schegloff, 2005; Traverso, 2009) where a potential complaint or trouble is made recognisable as such, and shared epistemic and affective ground is built to create a “safe space” for the delicate activity of complaining to take place and to be collaboratively completed. It is often the case that these complaints and troubles begin as short storytelling episodes.

We revisit this example introduced in previous chapters, with a mother (Cassie) and her daughter (Leonie) who are discussing Leonie’s symptoms of her illness (lines 1-4). At this point, Cassie is formulating in a form of a summary the gist of their previous discussion (lines 1-4). Leonie changes the topic with a proffer (line 6), asking whether Cassie’s partner, who is chronically ill, has gone to work today, the answer to which will launch a telling (line 6-12) and a subsequent indirect complaint (line 12).

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN “Ill” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

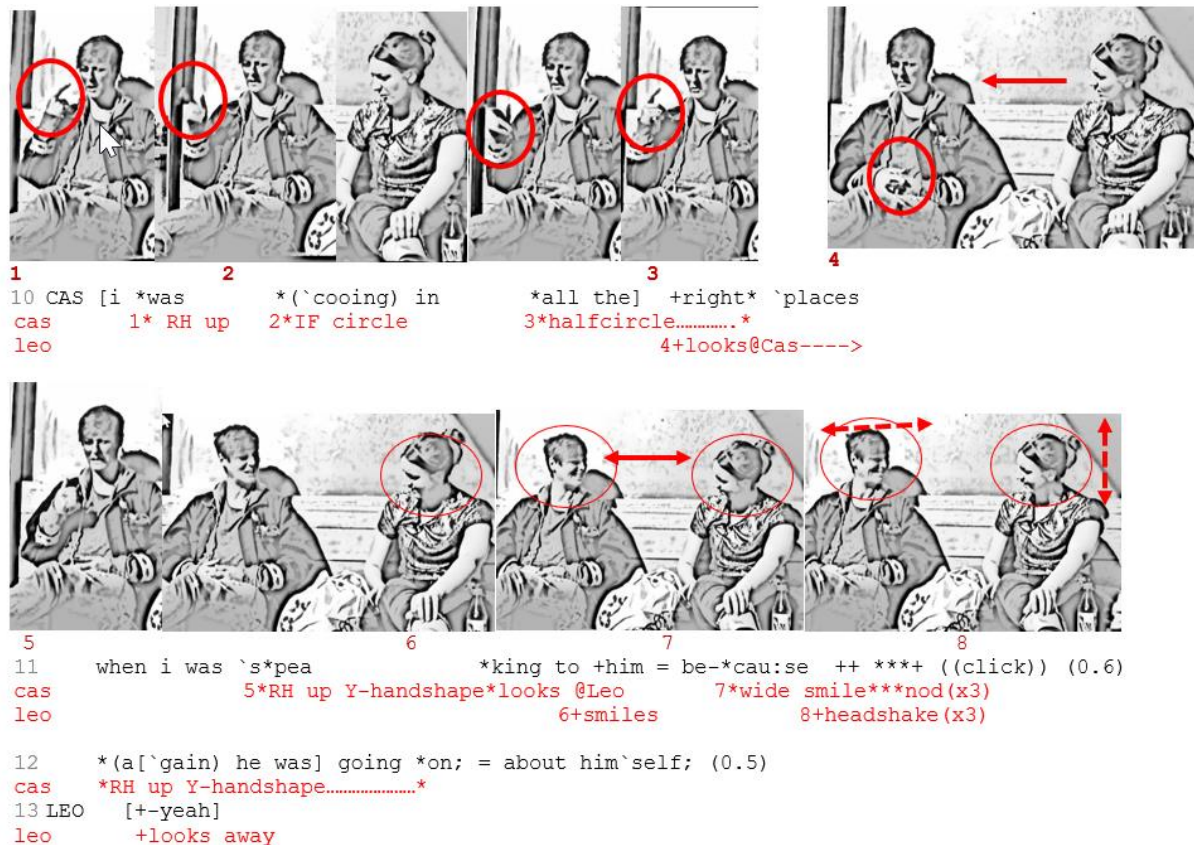
```
01 CAS well i su-ppose = because you were `sick; =
02     = youre kind of like (`looking fo:r-)
03     youre just looking for the `symptoms; =
04     =↓`arent you. = (↓all/at the `time;)
05 LEO has `crane (got/gone to) work to`day.
06 CAS ((lip smack)) yeah cra:ne was on a`bout that =
07     =i `cant remember where `actually =
08     =i `wasnt really; (.) paying much a`ttention; (0.3)
09 LEO (its his:) (0.6) [four `hour one `is(nt) it)]
10 CAS                                [i was (`cooing) in all the] right `places;
```


11 when i was `speaking to him. = be-cau:se (0.5) ((click)) (0.6)
12 a[`gain he was] going on about him`self; (0.5)
13 LEO [-yeah]
14 CAS he (does ↑`sound ill) but then he? (0.7)

Leonie's question launches a confirming answer by Cassie and an extended account of their conversation which foreshadows some possible trouble ("I was cooing in all the right places", line 10) followed by an account that explicates some of what will later become the complainable: "again he was going on about himself" (line 12), which is treated as a deliberate action, thus, a sanctionable one which is a possible criticism in tension with a more moderate concession: "he does sound ill" (line 13).

This first adumbration (Drew & Walker, 2009) is accompanied by an embodied behaviour that appears to be prompting mutual recognition of the upcoming complainable even before it is formulated. During a pause (line 11) where there is mutual gaze, Cassie produces a head shake with a wide smile, oriented to by a nod and a matching smile by Leonie in the pause followed by a "yeah" in overlap (line 13).

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)



Once this first complicit moment of the recognition of a complainable has been produced, Leonie's response (line 15) takes up Cassie's "he does sound ill" (line 14) and agrees by saying "i don't know if he just makes it up", casting doubt as to the veracity of the partner's constant claims of pain, supported by the evidence "he's fine when he's playing" (line 17), with two self-repairs (lines 14, 16), which may orient to possible acceptability issues. At this point, at least from Leonie's perspective, the joint complaint appears to centre around the suspicion of his feigning illness.

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

14 CAS he (does ↑`sound ill;)= but `then he? (0.7)
15 LEO i dont `know if he just- (.) makes it `up;
16 because (he `didnt?) (0.9)
17 hes `fine when hes `playing; = i dont `know. (0.4)

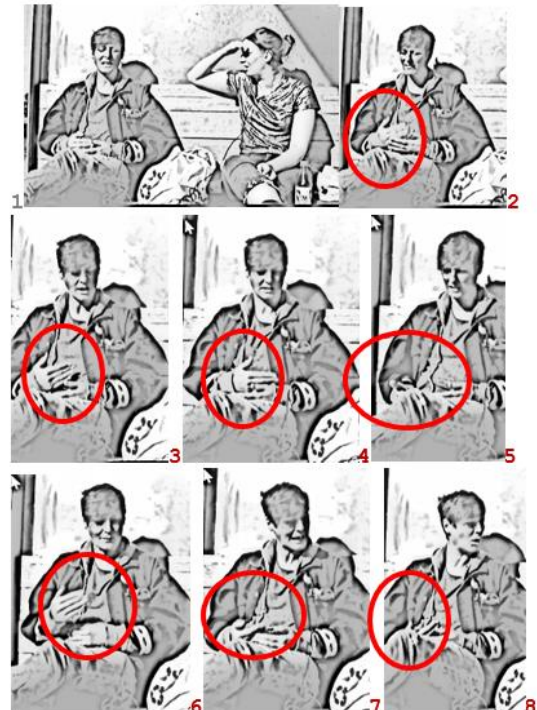
However, Cassie seems to take issue with the complainable as defined by Leonie, with first an explicit rejection (line 18) . Cassie takes up the “going on about himself” part of the prior adumbrated complaint (line 12) and topicalises it explicitly (“the thing is”, line 18), resorting to lexico-grammatical repetition, sharp beat repeated gestures, and a tense articulation to almost iconically contextualise her stance of annoyance:

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN “Ill” (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

18 CAS (well `no;)= the thing `is `right?
 19 you're `ill, (1.2)
 20 `i know he's `ill, (0.4)
 21 ↓`you know he's ill;
 22 ↓`he knows he's ill; (0.5)
 23 he `doesn't have to `keep going `on about it,
 24 a:ll the ^time.

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN “Ill” (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)

18 CAS (well `no/now) the #thing `is `right?
 #fig1
 19 you're `ill, (1.2)
 #fig2 (beat gesture)
 20 #`i know he's `ill, (0.4)
 #fig3 (beat & pointing gesture)
 21 #↓`you know he's ill;
 #fig4 (beat & 2fing pointing gesture)
 22 #↓`he knows he's ill; (0.5)
 #fig5 (open palm beat gesture)
 23 he *`doesn't #have to #`keep +going `on about it,
 #fig6 #fig7
 Cas *circular 2H gestures.....+
 24 #a:ll the ^time.
 #fig8 (open palm beat gesture)



Cassie has determined that the complainable behaviour lies in the insistence on his ill state (“keep going on about it all the time”, lines 6-7, referring back to the previous

"going on about himself"), which is somehow iconically done through the lexical repetition (lines 3-5), which together with extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986) and idiomatic expressions (Drew & Holt, 1988) are resources found to occur in the formulation of complaints. This could be an example of what Drew (1998) calls an "overdetermination" of action, which will also be later reinforced through the animation of the behaviour. The complainable person's agency is invoked in their insisting in telling everyone about his illness, which creates a tension and a moral dilemma, as he cannot be held guilty for being ill, but it is a sensitive matter to imply he may not be as ill as he seems and may be just seeking attention. This complaint, then, reveals some of the features of complainables, including the sense of "grievance", and the morally sanctionable behaviour.

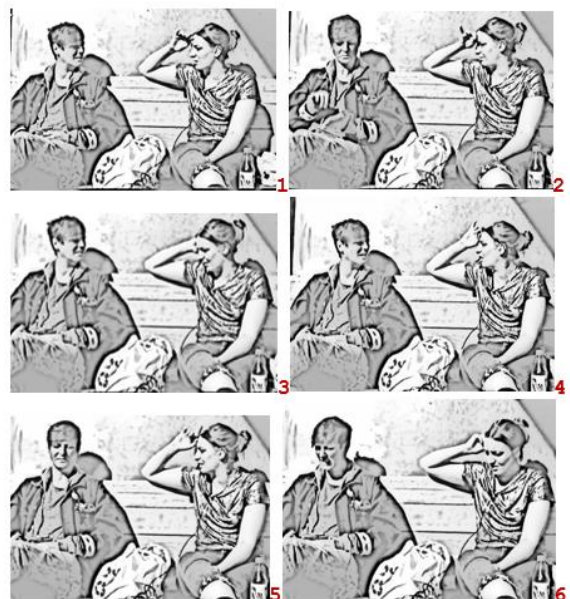
Traverso (2009) notes that different kinds of responses are possible for recipients at this point, the preferred one being affiliation, others being forms of negotiation, including challenges or lack of uptake. In this example, the terms of the complainable are still being negotiated. Cassie's early formulation of the complainable is not responded to with what straightforwardly looks like a fully aligning response. Leonie takes up Cassie's "the thing is" (line 25, see transcription below) in what looks like a competing trajectory of talk and thus, a competing topicalisation of what the complainable is, particularly given Cassie's increment in line 27 ("you just put it to one side"), that skip connects to line 23, establishing a contrast and doing what would seem to be "subtle disattending" (Mandelbaum, 1991). Meanwhile, Leonie discusses her own feelings when being sick (lines 25-26, 28-32), and introduces an account for this happening (31-32) but in fact, this is an argument that sustains the grievance put forward by her earlier: that the partner -who is said to be playing videogames all day- may not be as ill as he claims (line 15).

25 LEO the `thing is when `im ill; =
 26 =i cant (`deal) with the::
 27 CAS or just `put it to one ^si:de
 28 LEO `i cant play (any) `ga:mes (and stuff)
 29 or watch t~v when im ill, (0.5)
 30 i have to -li:ke (0.6)
 31 cause it hurts your `eyes;
 32 and it makes you `worse.

Cassie moves in and out of engagement during this section, with her incipient speakership becoming apparent as from line 31, when she opens her mouth and looks away.

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

25 LEO the #`thing is when `im ill; =
 #fig1
 26 =i cant (`deal) with the::
 27 CAS or just #`put it to one ^si:de
 #fig2
 28 LEO `i #cant play (any) `ga:mes (and
 stuff)
 #fig3
 29 or watch t~v when #im ill, (0.5)
 30 i have to -li:ke (0.6)
 31 cause it hurts your #+`eyes;
 cas +opens mouth
 #fig4
 32 and it #makes you `wor#se.
 #fig5 #fig6



6.4.2 Topicalisation: determining the complainable behaviour

Cassie had topicalised the complainable before, but Leonie put it to negotiation. After Leonie's reference to another possible topicalised complainable, that of the partner

feigning his illness, Cassie's response is one of non-ratification, though not in a confrontational way ("I don't know", line 33). It is a way of not fully endorsing these terms of the complaint - similar to what Drew & Walker (2009) describe when co-complainants "go too far"-, and the complainable behaviour -the moaning- is reformulated from its previous version (lines 23-24) in line 34, with a repetition of "going on" and with "all the time" (line 24) rephrased as "always" (line 34). This repetition of the complaint is met with an on-beat affiliative agreeing response "no, you don't" (line 35), the first ostensibly agreeing response by Leonie.

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
33 CAS i dont `know it s just like? (0.2) ((sniff))
34     you `just dont `always go `on about it ?(0.4)
35 LEO `no you `do::[nt,]
```

6.4.3 Core: escalation and affiliation

6.4.3.1 First animations

Once the complainable has been topicalised, once it is clear there is common epistemic and affective ground -a sort of affective "go ahead"- to develop the complaint, the complainant can move on to more explicitly formulate and assess the complainable, what Traverso (2009) calls the "core part" of the complaint, the moment of joint focused attention on the trouble where the affiliative side takes precedence over other conversational issues at hand, and there is greater granularity in a way that each new contribution builds a "recognisable bid for empathy" (Hoey, 2013:5).

Now that some minimal agreement and endorsement have been achieved, a key point in the complaint sequence is reached where the complaining party decides whether the complaint is to be developed further and sustained (the "complaint development

stage", Traverso, 2009). In this stage, the complainability has to be enhanced, amplified, expanded, and it is at this point where specific resources may be deployed by participants, animation in this case, to reinforce the sense of transgression or grievance, starting a process of "escalation" (Drew & Walker, 2009).

So in order to interactionally create the legitimacy of what is a complainable/troublesome issue, and ensure affiliation -particularly in less interactionally successful environments, (Pomerantz, 1986)-, a number of resources that "objectify" the claim and make it a product for joint manipulation and evaluation may be employed (Edwards, 2000, 2005): idiomatic expressions (Drew & Holt, 1988), extreme-case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986), script formulations (Edwards, 1995), category-based knowledge entitlements (Edwards, 2005; Schegloff, 2005), among others (Edwards, 2005), but also the practice under scrutiny here, reported speech (Drew, 1998; Heritage, 2011), which may be combined with some of the resources above, and often is.


In the case under analysis, Cassie's response comes latched to Leonie's agreement, engaging in a role-shift (Stec et al., 2016), with the animated voice of the partner represented with an accompanying telephone gesture in a Y-handshape, in the upper periphery area of the gestural space.

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)


```
35 LEO `no you `do::[nt,]
36 CAS [((click))] ↑↑2oh im `ill (0.3)
37 i spoke to you ten `minutes ago = you were `ill: =
38 = `yes:
39 i `g[et i2.]
```


The iconic gesture (seen earlier in this segment, in line 11) marks the entrance into the animation space, and is held during the first animated voice, that of the complaine, the partner moaning about their illness (line 36), whose behaviour is no longer described but brought to the here-and-now. This voice of the partner is done with the sides of her lips pressed downwards, a frowning expression, and a lower pitch register (see figure 6.3).

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)



35 LEO no you 'DO::[NT,
36 CAS *[[((click))]] ?oh *im 'I:LL; (0.3)
cas *...RH up telephone gesture, frowns,,,>
*lowers sides of lips-->



37 <<all> i *spoke to you ten 'MINutes ago;=>you were 'ILL;38=<<tense>*`YES:.39 *I *`G[ET it?>]
cas <----->* *open palm beat*(x2)
----->* *looks @Leo

The complaint itself now has become enacted, presented as a form of response by a displaced Cassie to her partner. Her prior formulation about his persistence ("don't *always* go on about it" in line 34) has now got a specific temporal reference ("ten minutes ago", line 37), which may or may not be an extreme case formulation in real life, but which is found to be relevant in the here-and-now to the participants, as it will later be taken up in Leonie's own co-animated response. This is followed by two increments to this first part of the complaint: "yes" and "I get it" (lines 38 and 39).

The shift towards the animation of Cassie's own voice in response is done by the releasing of the phone gesture, and the return of her right hand to home position but with an open palm gesture and three beat gestures coinciding with the accentuation of "ill", "yes" and "get", creating rhythmic scansion. There is also an increase in pitch and volume in her affect-laden expression of indignation and greater articulatory tension (as seen in the neck, see time-aligned captures above) alongside her enacted complaint (see figure 6.3).

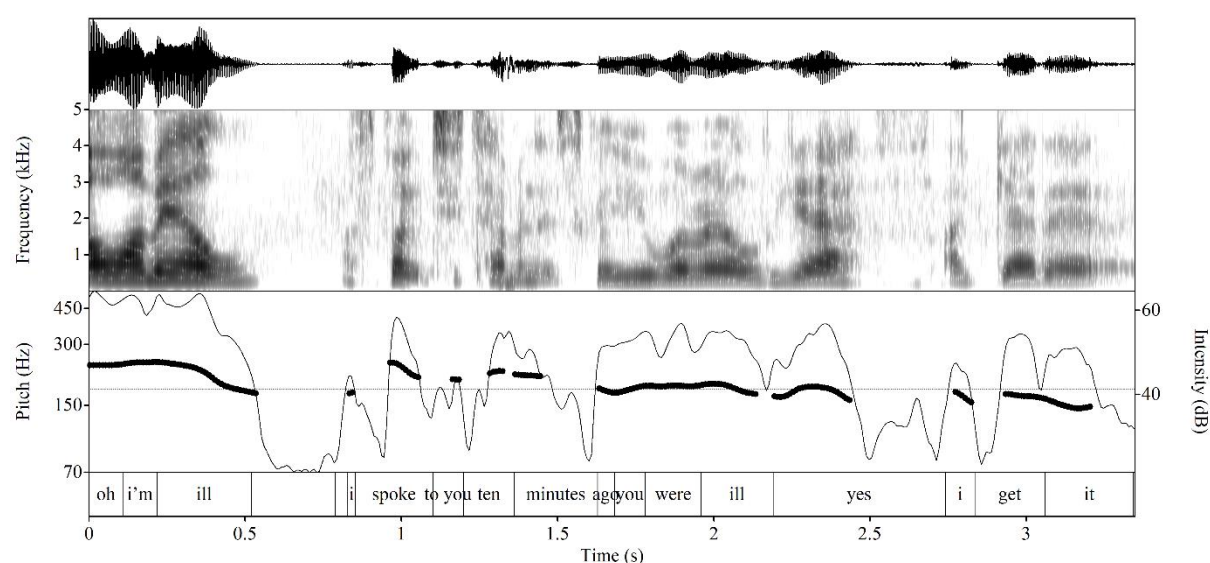


Figure 6.3 Phonetic visualisation of f0, intensity, and spectrogram of Cassie's first animated sequence.

Like in most other cases in the collection, Cassie's self-animation may not necessarily have happened as an actual response to the partner, whose voice is animated. Cassie's animation of Self hovers in ambiguity between an anchoring in the here-and-now and the there-and-then, with the origo for pronouns in the animated space. This is in-keeping with what Selting (2010), in her studies of the sequential management of affectivity in the climax of conversational storytelling, has observed. These forms of assessment are often done first in the here-and-now, in the display of re-constructed affectivity with reference to the complainable (p.241). Selting discusses how this first re-constructed display of affectivity is frequently followed by an in-situ evaluation of

the complainable, that also makes relevant an affiliative response, a weaker one at that that mirrors the kind of return to conversational business that Jefferson (1988) has described.

When it comes to complaints, then, there is generally a form of animated dialogue that involves an enactment of the complainees' actions, followed by an animation of A in response to that grievance/behaviour. The transgression is recreated as a particular event or a generic or iterative situation (as in the "Ill" case), and "the complainant leaves the complained-about words to 'speak for themselves'" (Drew 1998:321), as a form of evidence, leaving the recipient to appreciate and somehow experience the complainable and explicate it (Drew and Walker 2009) and "under some moral obligation to affiliate empathically" (Couper-Kuhlen 2012).

In this sense, sequentially, it is relevant to say that even though other voices may be animated in these episodes, the possible completion of the turn in complaints in this collection is only marked after this affective reaction in the animated voice of Self is produced. It makes relevant, through this contiguity of the transition-relevance place after an animated affective response, a response that aligns with the stance of this last animation. This positional contiguity of a conditionally-relevant affiliative response after the voice of Self and not after that of the offender spares the co-participant the trouble of having to provide an affective display or a marker of agreement after just being presented with the animated voice of the transgressor instead. This could be one more reason a co-animator's response is found to be satisfactory and "safe" in the end.

This animation of A exhibits the "kind of duality between the situation pertaining when the offence took place, and the current situation of talking about it, in which the initial complaint has to be re-animated" (Edwards 2005:24). This form of lamination that

accompanies A's animation of their own response or reaction to the complaine'e's behaviour in the there-and-then is combined with the overlaid stance that is functional to the here-and-now's mobilising of an empathic or endorsing response, which is what we will turn to next.

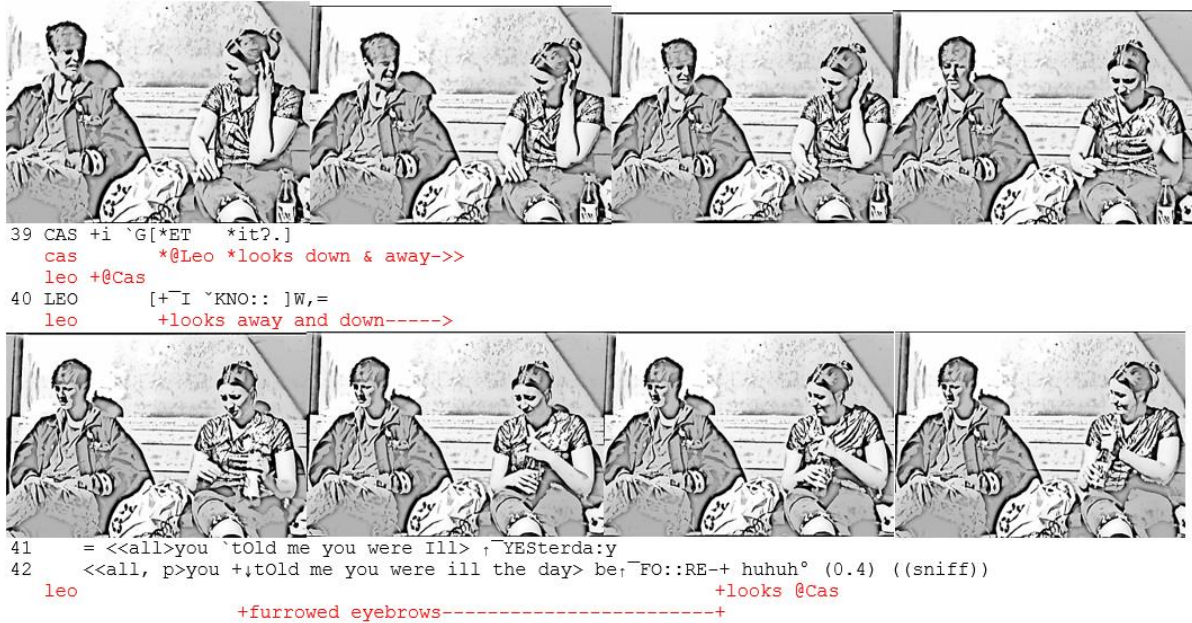
6.4.3.2 Co-animations

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
39      i `g[et i2. ]
40 LEO      [ `i `kno:]:w,=
41      =you `told me you were ill ↑yesterda:y
42      you ↓`told me you were ill the day be↑fo::re huhuh° (0.4)
      ((sniff))
```

Leonie's incoming (line 40) is at a possible transition-relevance place: "I get it" is underway, and its end, projectable, when Leonie comes in overlap with a gradual withdrawal of gaze and change of head posture (see transcription below). Both "I know" and "I get it" (lines 21-22) could be said to amount to the same in the there-and-then of this created dialogue, while signalling agreement in the here-and-now. However, in this respect this overlapping response may be ambiguous in that it may be said in Cassie's (and arguably, her own) behalf as an animation (i.e., "I know" meaning "I get it", anchored in the there-and-then), but it could also be an unanimated recipient response of her own accord (i.e., "I know" meaning "tell me about it" in the here-and-now; Mikesell et al., 2017) . This affiliative response starting in overlap that leaves the rest of the animation in the clear (line 40) is a frequent device in the collection (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.2), with recipient responses (generally "yeah") produced early, thus "ticking off the box" of a canonical recipient response early before the fusion into a single animated voice happens.

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Immediately after the overlap, Leonie continues the complaint in the clear by skip-connecting and tying back to the time formulation component in Cassie's initial animation (i.e: "ten minutes", line 37 > "yesterday", line 41 > "the day before", line 42) as well as the pronoun "you", to produce a possibly upgraded and heightened continuation to Cassie's complaint addressed to absent Crane. Coherence is established through these lexicogrammatical resources, even though in the ambiguity mentioned earlier the pronoun "me" could be ascribed to Cassie, Leonie, or to Cassie + Leonie, depending on whether Leonie is speaking on Cassie's behalf, or on her behalf, or on both of them as a collectivity.

Another tying device is prosodic: Leonie's anacrusic allegro tempo parameter in the part of her TCU which eventually gets repeated (lines 41-42 "you told me you were ill") is at a rate of 10.34 syllables per second, which matches Cassie's tempo increase at line 37 (at 9.82 syll/sec). Leonie's reference speech rate (lines 8-14), not including pauses, is of 4.14 syllables/second, and Cassie's (lines 1-7) has been of 3.57 syllables/second, which reveals the considerable acceleration.

In spite of the relative prosodic similarity in speech rate, there is no further prosodic matching between Cassie's and Leonie's contributions, thus their display of higher levels of individual agency in the prosodic domain. Moreover, Leonie's incoming does not exhibit any form of prosodic integration, as it is not on beat and her pitch levels and ranges do not reveal any forms of integration or matching with Cassie's, being produced higher in her range and high relative to Cassie's own production (see figure 6.4 below). Her pitch contours are stylised and produced with lengthening of the temporal elements (see also figure 6.5), contextualising in this way the routine-like character of the complainable behaviour.

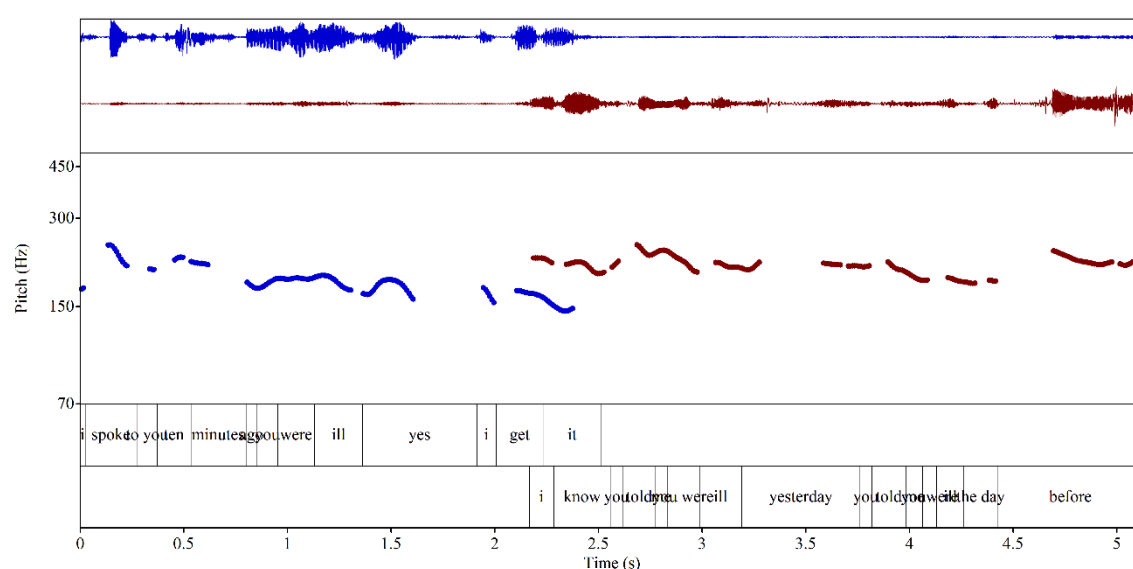


Figure 6.4 F0 trace of the whole co-animated sequence (Hz log).

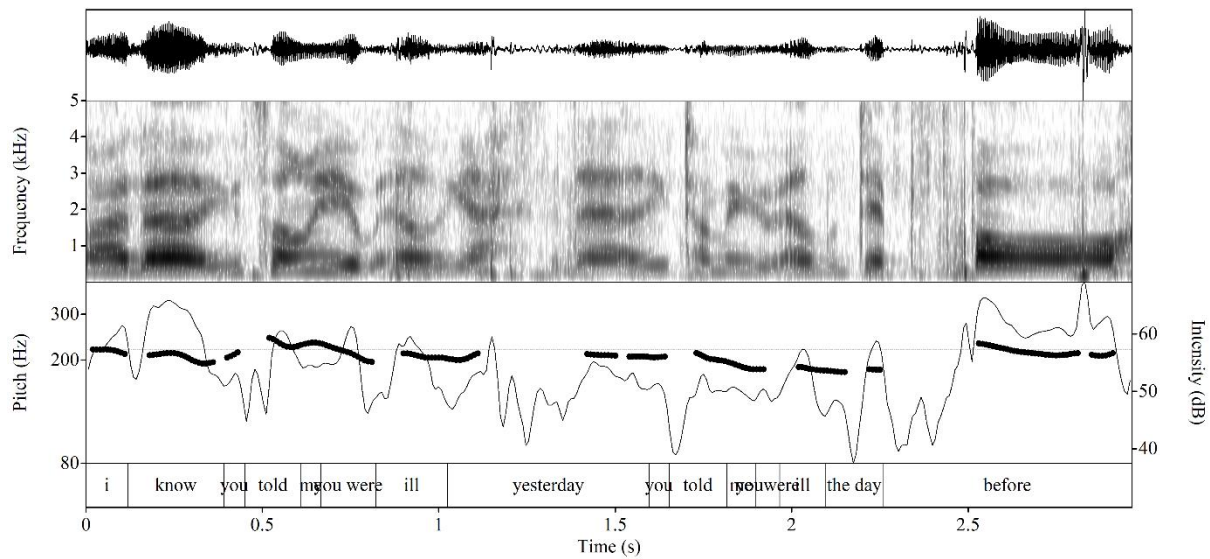


Figure 6.5 Phonetic visualisation of Leonie's co-animated response (waveform, spectrogram, intensity, and f0 Hz log)

Leonie's animation seems to orient to her mother's own voice through the overlap and use of "I", though because their epistemic access is shared, and so are their complaints on the situation, Leonie's contribution may also arguably be on her own behalf, as a member of the mother-daughter collectivity interactionally built against the partner's attitude, thus endorsing her mother's complaint. At the end of her co-animated response, she smiles and seems to make a matching response relevant, but her gaze is not reciprocated by Cassie, as seen in transcription 6.14 above.

Unlike other cases in the collection, it is possible to infer that because this co-animation is presented as part of a complaint on a "common cause" where epistemic statuses are not unequal, their co-animation is an illustration of the grudge lodged and co-constructed in the here-and-now of the interaction. Because the affiliating response in terms of agreement is taken for granted and there is enough shared epistemic grounding and prior displays of affiliation, this animation seems to be a form of securing a matching affiliating response in terms of degree.

It is clear from this case and from the other cases in this collection that it is the voice of A -and not of the transgressor- that eventually gets co-animated and that is how the co-complaint is achieved, either on behalf of A, or on behalf of A+B as a collectivity (Cantarutti 2019; Lerner 1993). Moreover, the (co-)animation is deployed at a point where an affiliative response has been secured, so this is safer ground for both co-participants to use these resources.

6.4.4 Exit: confirming and closing

At this point in the sequence, the first complainers have the choice to accept the contribution, reject or qualify it, or move on to the next step in the telling or order of business. This is a moment where a heightened affiliative response has been provided, and participants generally opt to move towards closing or to move in a stepwise manner into the next topic, often disjunctively (Jefferson, 1985), which will be achieved in this case in line 55 later with "oh, this is gorgeous".

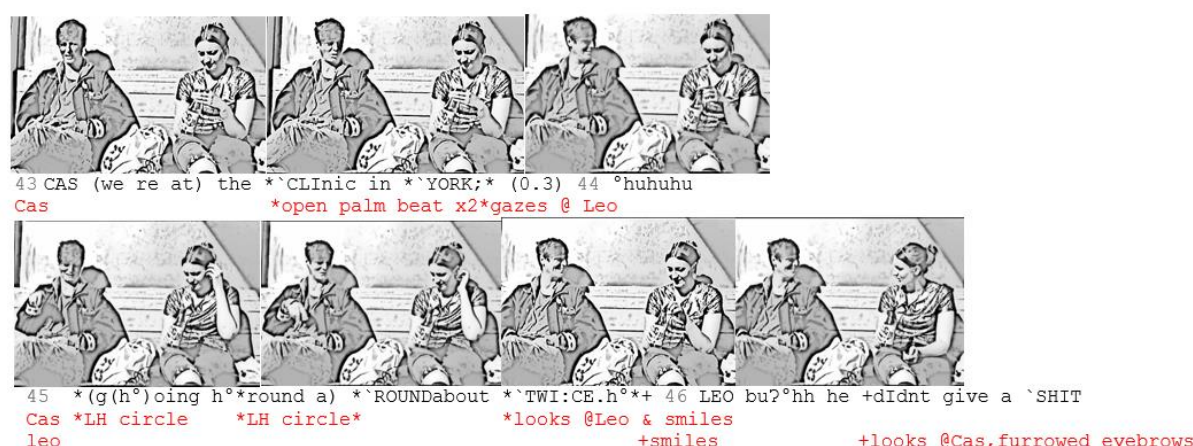
It is noteworthy in the collection that the closing of these animated complaint sequences bears either an explicit acceptance of the contribution (see section 4.5 in Chapter 4), or a movement into the next order of business, but no rejection or explicit correction of the content of the animation. Whereas in the "Ill" and the "Pants" examples both participants share epistemic access to the complainable behaviour (that is, they are A-B events; Labov, 1972) , in prior examples like "Calm Down", co-participants may not have direct access to the actual source events but have revealed an empathetic insertion through their co-animation, by "doing being" their co-participants in the displaced interactions in spite of their epistemic status in terms of first-hand access and presumably, entitlement towards the telling, not being equal.

In this case in particular, Cassie's response to the co-animation appears to continue the telephone conversation with the partner, where they were letting them know that they are at the clinic because Leonie is ill. This in a way seems to refer back to previous talk (not shown) as to how there will be a "competition" between Leonie and Cassie's partner as to who is in most pain (see Example 4.9 in Chapter 4, MCY09PIN "IBS") and to how he "goes on about himself". Unlike what is often found in this position in the collection, Cassie does not offer an explicit acknowledgement of Leonie's co-animation, but the figure of the partner is still present as a recipient of the ongoing talk (lines 43, 45), which means that the animation space is not necessarily closed, though in her view, the complaint space may very well be.

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

43 CAS (we re at) the `clinic in `york (0.3)
44 °huhuhu
45 (g(h°)oing r(h°)ound a) `roundabout `twi:ce. ?h°

Cassie's new animation would seem to add further to the ongoing complainable, by doing what seems to have been a call and moan placed while they were getting lost while reaching the clinic, that is, perhaps at a not very appropriate moment. After this first announcement of their being at the clinic -which does not reflect the here-and-now of the Cassie-Leonie interaction but refers to a point in the past prior to this recording-, Cassie gazes at Leonie, who is not looking back, and then continues the animation with an iconic "going round" gesture and interspersed laughter particles. She returns her gaze at Leonie once again, who is now reciprocating both the gaze and the smile, nodding and offering a laughter particle.



In response to this and after this brief moment of embodied reciprocal appreciation and remembering, Leonie offers a formulation (line 46 in 6.3 below) that orients to the phone conversation that Cassie has taken up again, but one that appears to summarise part of the grievance but also add to the overall complaint with her own story, with a “my-side” story that exits the animation space. Her laughter particle and facial expression change abruptly back to furrowed eyebrows, and her use of not “giving a shit” exposes another grievance. Epistemic and moral issues may be at stake here: even though Leonie has self-aggregated to the complaint by joining in the sanctioning of the insistence of her mother’s partner’s moans, it could be a delicate issue for Leonie to criticise her mother’s partner and add another feature to the already-negotiated sense of his being egotistical, through a new (fleeting) animation (line 48).

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN “Ill” (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

46 LEO ?°hh he didnt give a `shit when he was on the ´phone, (0.4)
 47 ´what did he `say: ; = he ↓´said (0.4)
 48 be: `sa::fe =
 49 = and then he hung `up. (1.44)

This is a form of reorientation to the complaint activity, still on topic, but Leonie receives a concessive and mitigated answer in defence of the partner that appears to

reject the path of Leonie's new addition to the ongoing complaint (lines 50-51). This could be a form of indexing a sense of unfairness in Leonie's negative description of the partner -who after all is not Leonie's father-, and is responded to by Leonie's explicit disagreement with this account provided by Cassie (lines 52-53), met with no uptake and leading to a lapse. This topical sequence ends abruptly, with a disjunctive change of topic (Jefferson, 1985), an orientation to the weather (lines 55-56) that sees Leonie agreeing and not pushing the new complaint further (line 57).

Example 6.3 MCY09PIN "Ill" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

50 CAS i su`ppose just to kind of li:ke? (2.1)
51 °ahh dis`tract (so you ↓werent) di`stracted and (1.25)
52 LEO `no i dont `think that was `it, =
53 = i dont ^think he cou:ld? -give a: ´toss? (3.2)
54 `m:m (0.75)
55 CAS oh this is ↑^g:orgeous;
56 at `least its not `raining (1.65)
57 LEO i cant be^lieve how (´nice) it is,

So even after a strong marker of affiliation around a complaint/trouble has been offered by B, there is still room for further negotiation of the terms of what the offending behaviour or grievance amounts to, or how much further it can be extended (Drew and Walker 2009), which could result in sequences of disaffiliation. This shows how momentary and fleeting association around a shared sense of grievance can be, especially when issues of epistemic authority or rights, or delicacy and fairness are negotiated.

6..4.5 Comparable cases

The examples below illustrate the structure introduced above, although in these examples co-participants may not share first-hand access to the events enacted -that is, they are A-events. These cases reveal how through the ordered structure and the deployment of the animation at the point of escalation, a safer epistemic and affective ground is created for co-participants to affiliate in the terms they do, by acting as if they had been actual co-experiencers of the animated scenarios.

The next case of an indirect complaint shows how something that may initially be adumbrated as trouble (Drew & Walker, 2009) and which requires some form of remedy becomes a complaint about the unhelpfulness of someone who is expected to be part of the remedy. Jesse is telling Fiona about the problems he is encountering with his papers, something that is initially assessed as "annoying" (line 9) and as a worry (line 8), given that he cannot condense all the necessary information into a single paper (lines 8-11), so he has written his papers as a series, which creates a word-limit problem for the contextualisation of his study in each paper (lines 11-17).

Example 6.4 MCY04SANDWICH "Page limit" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

01 JES can you `publish (through) ideas. (0.4)
02 can you `reference ´something,
03 that went thr[ough I]`deas.
04 FIO [`yea:h;]
05 JES oh ↑`re:ally.
06 FIO `ye:ah we ge? = we re proper pro~ceedings? (0.8)
07 JES ˘o:`kay. (1.2) ((click/lip smack))
08 cause `that was what i was ~worried about, (1.46)
09 (cause) one of the ~r:eally annoying things: ,=
10 =with the paper im writing ~now, ((sniff)) (0.2) ((click))
11 i:s (0.6) it makes `so little ~sense,=
12 if you `havent read the ´first one?
13 FIO ↑^m::m (0.3)
14 JES but? cause theres a limited ~space, (0.9)

```

15     youre just p(0.3) `purely wasting `words;
16 FIO ↑^m::m
17 JES re`treating old `gro:und,
18     if you `try and li:ke e[x`p ]lain it again; (0.5)
19 FIO                                     [ `hm:]

```

After the explanation of the nature of the problem, and with interspersed recognitional receipt tokens from Fiona (lines 13, 19), Jesse receives an extended supportive response from Fiona (lines 22, 24-26, 28-32) that focuses on the serial nature of the papers as being usual in the field. This acts as a form of legitimisation of what he sees as trouble as in fact being a normal part of the wider academic culture.

Example 6.4 MCY04SANDWICH "Page limit" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)

```

20 JES so i `don? = `ye:ah. (0.5)
21 FIO ↑↑but? (0.2)[↑`that is quite] `common in `literature;=
22 JES [its quite a`nnoying,]
23 FIO = ^isnt it. (0.7)
24 FIO to `be: like (0.6)
25 `building *on; (0.7) `bla:h, (0.4)
    jes *nods
26 the [`intro]s and? (0.7)
27 JES [`ye:ah.]
28 FIO `always tend to be quite `similar,*
    jes *nods
29 `with like? (0.8) related `work sections, (1.5)
30 JES ((sniff))
31 FIO and then: its -just? (0.6) jumps right `in. (0.8)
32 i? i think some `papers are su`pposed to be *read, (1.4)
    jes *nods
33 as a `series, (0.3)

```

Fiona's "naturalisation" of the problem beginning in overlap with Jesse's insistence on the assessment of the problem as "annoying" (lines 21-22) -possibly at a point in which

sequence closure could have been proposed- is followed by her unpacking of what is "common". Jesse agrees verbally (line 27) and nods as a response, but does not offer an agreement token at the end of Fiona's account.

As a response to this extended affiliative effort by Fiona, though, Jesse re-introduces the serial issue and the page limit problem (line 33), taking it back from the "common" into the personal sphere again, this time reporting his supervisor's criticism around this matter (lines 33-38).

Example 6.4 MCY04SANDWICH "Page limit" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)

```
33 JES ((lip smack))that was one of the `criticisms that i `got. (0.7)
34     (through/from) `adam (who was just) ^s:aying (0.7)
35     `you do that too ^often
36     `everything needs to ^be? = like self con^ta:ined; °hh (0.9)
37     and `then at the sa:m? `same time;
38     `add all this: ; = but `dont take anything `out? (0.2)
39 FIO m:^hm:m
```

This voice is responded to with a self-animation of his response to such feedback (line 40) and with post-positioned laughter. As with the previous example, the animated reaction to the complaint may not be necessarily anchored in the same there-and-then as with the complainable, as this response has probably not been uttered to the supervisor, and thus shares more with the stance projected in the here-and-now than with the time of the offence. It is this animation of the indignation and puzzlement of Self -supported by the rhythmic scansion- that is responded to with a co-animation by Fiona (line 43), that shares the dense accentual prosodic design, and the pitch contour deployed, produced with relative similar distances to their own midlines (see figure 6.6).

Example 6.4 MCY04SANDWICH "Page limit" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)

40 JES huh `what do you `want me to [do ʔh° adʔh°am?]
 41 FIO [˘m:m]
 42 JES ʔhuh ʔhuh ʔhuh ((sniff)) (1.63)
 43 FIO do `you under`stand how `page limits `work?
 44 JES nhh° nhh°
 45 (15.34)
 jes (6.40) * (1.18) * (5.5)
 nod nod nod

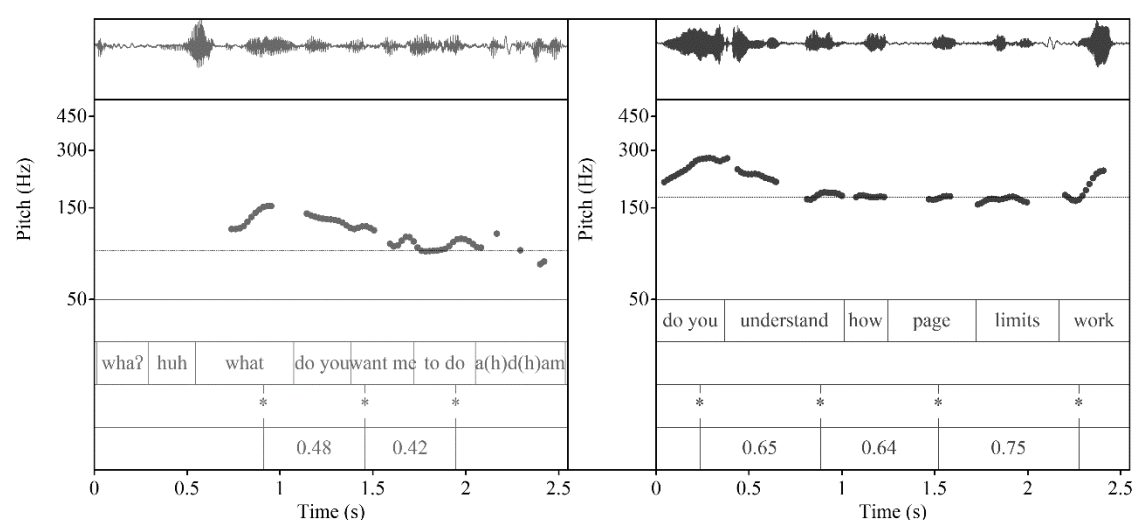


Figure 6.6 f0 in semitones, scaled to speakers' own midlines, and measured beat intervals of the co-animated turns (left: Jesse; right: Fiona).

Finally, an example of a troubles-telling exhibiting a comparable structure can be seen below. Jon is telling his friend Dan about his experience at drama camp in the US, where he was in charge of setting up the props and sound system for a musical for children. He lists a number of troubles encountered (lines 21-29, 50-56) which he mostly enacts through self-animated self-talk. The troubles initially included the fact that the show was to be staged in a shed with only two or three power outlets (line 29), and how he "rigged the whole place" (earlier, not shown) for the show director:

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

21 JON [brought a `light]board;
 22 `soundbo:ard; (0.2) everything. (0.5)

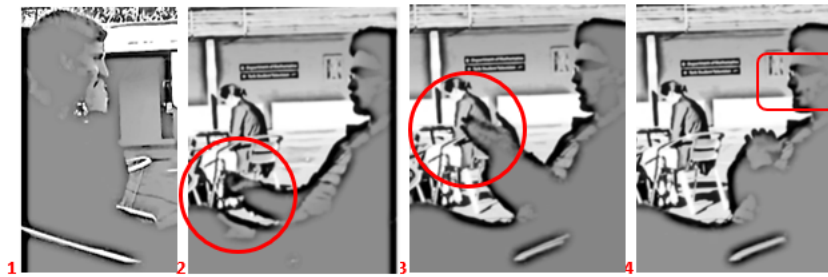
23 and I was ˈlike (0.7)
24 `this is aˈmazing, (0.5)
25 exˈcept; (0.5) `this;; (0.4) `shitty:: ˘shed,
26 was ˈbuilt like; (0.8)
27 a ˈhundred years ago? (0.4) ((click))
28 and so like it literally ˈhad like;
29 two or ˈthree = power ˈoutlets. (0.5)

At this point, Jon introduces further self-animated talk, and reaches a long gap where there is no verbal material but three fist-on-hand hits (see transcription below). Dan had oriented to the power outlet issue by covering his mouth, and this pause is oriented by him ambiguously, interpreted either as an assistance for word search or a slot for the production of an affiliative response. Dan's answer offers an animated version of what could accompany Jon's gesture (line 34). This co-animation is responded to by Jon with what looks like an embedded correction (line 35) which may be redressing any miscalculations by Dan as to the central trouble in the story as Jon was building it, which will be later revealed to be his bad back and shoulder.

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

30 DAN ˈah[hh]
31 JON [and ˈi was] ˈlike
32 o`kay= ive got to ˘rig this,
33 (1.53)
34 DAN <<cr>↓lets ˆdo i?
35 JON <<cr> h::ow am i gonna ˈdo tha?;> ((click?)) (0.40)
36 [um:]
37 DAN [((lip smack))]
(Lines 28-49 omitted)

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR "Let's do it" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

30 DAN °ah[hh      ]+#
      +covers mouth with RH -->
      #fig1
31 JON [and °I was] °LIKE
32    <<acc> o`KAY>= ive gOt to *°RIG this,
      *R fist hit on leg (x2)
      *opens mouth
33    (1.6)    *(0.8)    #*(0.8)
Jon          *fist hit on leg    *fist on hand noisy
      #fig2
34 DAN <<cr>#+*↓lEts*# ^DO i?
      dan >----+releases covering gesture
      jon      *closes lips inwards firmly
      #fig3
      *fist and hand closer to chest
      #fig4
35 JON <<cr> *a°hh h::ow am i gonna `DO tha?;>((click)) (0.4)
      *releases hand and fist onto lap
      *opens mouth
36    [um:      ]
37 DAN [((smack)) ]
    
```

What has been presented as trouble is then escalated with an even greater form of trouble that complicates the duties described above, as Jon was suffering from a “really shitty back and shoulder” (lines 58-59), made worse by a thin mattress (line 61). The back pain is topicalised with a pointing gesture towards his back that spans the verbal material from lines 57-61 (see figure 6.7 below)

Dan “does remembering” in line 60, revealing his recognition and access but also attempting, but abandoning, what appears to have been a display of empathy (“you must’ve...”), thus providing the first affiliative response that enables the escalation.

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR “Cause I’m dying” (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```

50 JON [and i had to °rig]
51 DAN [that x yeah      ]
52 JON ↑`yeah; = and i °had
53    and °like i had to `rig them =
    
```


54 =over the `fucking `rafters (0.3)
55 `everything,
56 i had to hammer `nails and everything; (0.6)
57 #*°h and like i `did this with a really `shitty
*RT finger pointing back----->
#fig 6.7



Figure 6.7 Jon's pointing gesture (line 57)

58 like; (0.4) `back
59 [and `shoulder]
60 DAN [°oh= `yeah of ↑`course.] = (you `mustve:)
61 JON like *↑over`head stuff with a bad `shoulder (0.4)
jon >releases point*
62 and like? when youre sleeping on a `mattress; =
63 = ↓which is `that thin,
64 and like not good ma`terial,
65 like its literally `plastic (.)
66 w:iped `out (0.6) °hh

Now that the pain has been topicalised as the trouble, Jon animates his sense of urgency through an animated turn in which he enacts the extent of his pain by referring to the remedy sought: having to see a nurse and request painkillers (lines 72-74). Dan offers an empathetic response ("oh", line 71), and this happens after he had very minimally seen to have disengaged by looking at his watch and then looking away. Jon's animation is framed verbally with the quotative preface "be like" (line 70), which

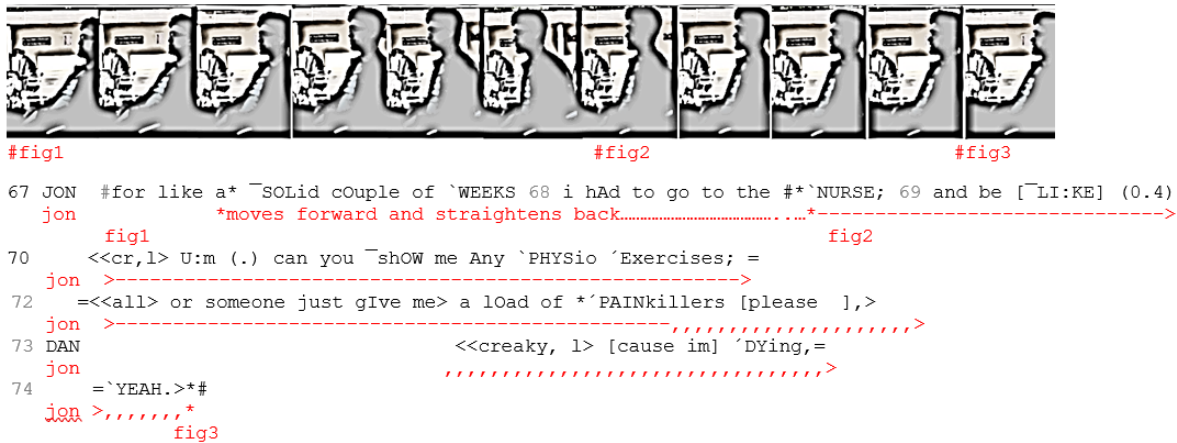
seems to allow for the licence in the high-entitlement formatting of the request (e.g. "and just give me a load of painkillers", line 74.).

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
67      like put my `back out
68      for like a `solid couple of `weeks
69      i had to go to the `nurse;
70      and be [ˈl:ike-] (0.4)
71 DAN      [ˈO:h. ]
72 JON <<cr>u:m (.) can you ˈshow me any ˈphysio
73      exerˈcises; =
74      =and just give me a load of ˈpainkillers [please, ]
```

The transition into the trouble that gets topicalised, his painful back, is also framed somehow iconically, with a noticeable change in posture. Jon leans forward and sits up straight, after saying "put my back out" (lines 67). This straight back position will be kept throughout the animation, and will start being released towards its return to home position (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) as the word "painkillers" is being uttered (line 74; also see stills in 6.5 below). This beginning of the retraction movement coincides with Dan's incoming, which is perfectly timed to Jon's start of "please". Arguably, Jon's straight posture release is also a marker of projectability that will be taken by Dan in his own production of transition-space onset overlap (Jefferson, 1986b).

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Prosodically, Jon's animation does not seem to be particularly flagged as reported speech (Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999) in that it does not introduce a disjunctively different voice quality, pitch, or volume differences between the preface and the animated sections, or even in comparison to his previous narrative stages. The only hearable change is in a shift towards a creakier voice quality than that in his previous TCUs, a slightly lower volume, and an only moderately narrower range: the pitch of whole animation is only slightly hovering over his usual range, not deviating more than 0.6 ST from his midline (see figure 6.9 below). Once again, this prosodic design does not give his speech an impression of its being an authentic re-enactment, and it is perhaps the stance and overall ethos of stiffness and stoicism that his prosodic design and posture add to his "hero narrative" that allows Dan to have access to the extreme pain he is reporting, and thus, mobilise a more empathic and involved response.

It was mentioned earlier that complainants/troubles-tellers are faced with the dilemma of how to sustain their activity once an affiliative response has been provided. Traverso (2009) also notes that the recipient's dilemma at this point is that they "cannot carry on simply reasserting her/his affiliation stance, and has to turn to other resources" (p.2394). At this point, after tellers/complainants have enhanced the formulation or explicitness of the grievance, recipients also need to "up their game" if they want to sustain the activity and not fall short in their affiliative response. It can be seen that

this reported speech sequence seems to act as a renewed place of heightened involvement (Holt, 2000) in a “dramatic” part of Jon’s narrative.

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

74 =and just give me a load of `painkillers [please,]
75 DAN [cause im]
76 `dying,=`yeah.
77 JON (cause) ¯like? (0.4) `yeah. (0.2)

Dan's active listenership is made explicit first by his sustained mutual gaze -which differs from the characteristic gaze aversion described in re-enactments by Sidnell, 2006-, and with raised eyebrows peaking on "I'm dying" (line 75-76) with a repeat eyebrow raising with a smaller trajectory for "yeah" (line 76). There is also nodding on his part starting in the second part of Jon's reported request (line 75), plus a final raised head and chin movement, -a recycled gesture from the previous nod-, as the other-continuation (Sidnell, 2012a), acting as an increment or add-on (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2010) to Jon's speech, is produced.

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

```

74      = <<all> and just +give+ me> a load+ of +
      dan                                +nods+                +nods+
75      + 'PAINkillers+ [please ],>
      dan                                +nods+                +

```



76 DAN <<creaky, 1> [cause im] +`DY +ing,> +=
+closes eyes +raises eyebrows+
+holds head up----->
77 =+`YEAH + +
+brings head down +nods+nods

Dan's animated version of Jon's voice orients to several aspects of Jon's design and action. Dan overruns the end of Jon's reported request with an overlap initiating an other-increment, which acts as a displaced account for his animated request in the there-and-then and brings the animation segment to a close. This overlapped other-continuation (Sidnell, 2012) to Jon's turn is syntactically dependent, as the 'cause-prefaced' TCU starts a subordinate clause that is fitted to the projected grammar in Jon's previous turn.

In terms of the phonetic design, Dan's voicing of Jon also reveals some degrees of fittedness through prosodic integration (Auer, 1996): Dan's "cause" starts at a place where Jon's "please" had been projected (see the arrows cut-off closure in the fricative segment in Jon's [z] for "painkillers" in figure 6.8), and the release stages of both plosives are very closely timed, with [k] in "cause" being released earlier than [p] in "please", as also shown with arrows in figure 6.8.

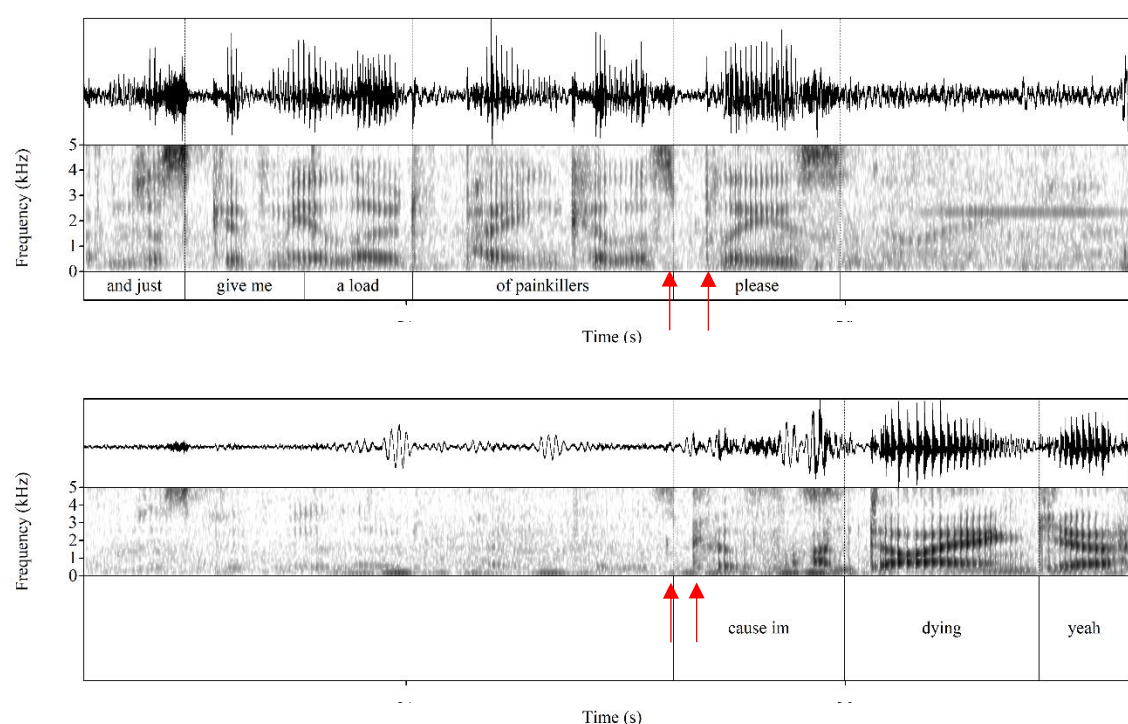


Figure 6.8 Waveform and spectrogram showing with arrows the closure for [p] (first arrow, top) and [k] (first arrow, bottom) and their release (second arrow) in the overlapped segment of Jon and Dan's productions

Dan's production is also prosodically integrated (Auer, 1996) in that it is lower in pitch range, and creakier than Jon's. It starts 5 semitones lower than Jon's finishing pitch for "painkillers", which matches the lower pitch starts that have been described for self-increments (Walker, 2004). This low pitch configuration also implies some accommodation in his own pitch range in that it starts 6 semitones lower than his usual own mid range line (see figure 6.9). Dan's co-animated add-on to the voice of Jon also continues the line of declination of Jon's request, by producing a final rise that brings the request to an end in a way that could have been Jon's.

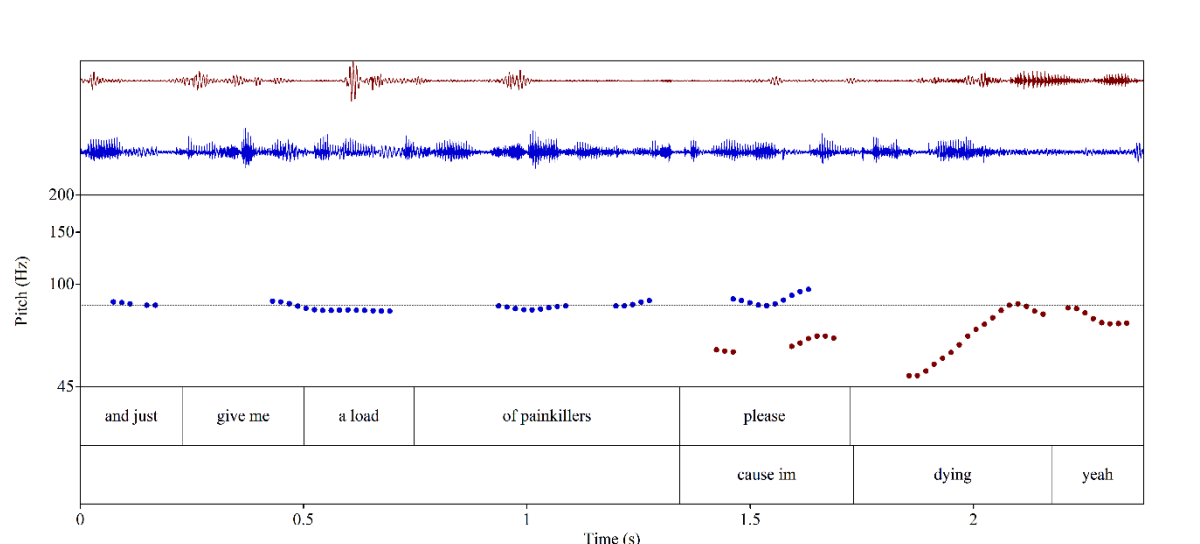


Figure 6.9 f0 trace and excursion of Jon's (blue) and Dan's (maroon) co-animated TCUs (Hz log; the midline average applies to both speakers).

The second aspect of Dan's contribution that deserves attention is his change of footing from his "doing being Jon" (line 75-76) as a joint animation figure, back into his own recipient role with "yeah" (line 76). This is done immediately after his co-animation, and both turns are latched, with continuation of voicing (Local & Walker, 2012; see figure 6.10 below) and a continued intonation contour, with the falling

movement of “yeah” seamlessly continuing from the rising movement in “dying”. The beginning of “yeah”, apart from being marked with eyebrow raising, is only separated from “dying” through the release of the velar plosive, but no further marks of prosodic separation between these lexical items seem to occur.

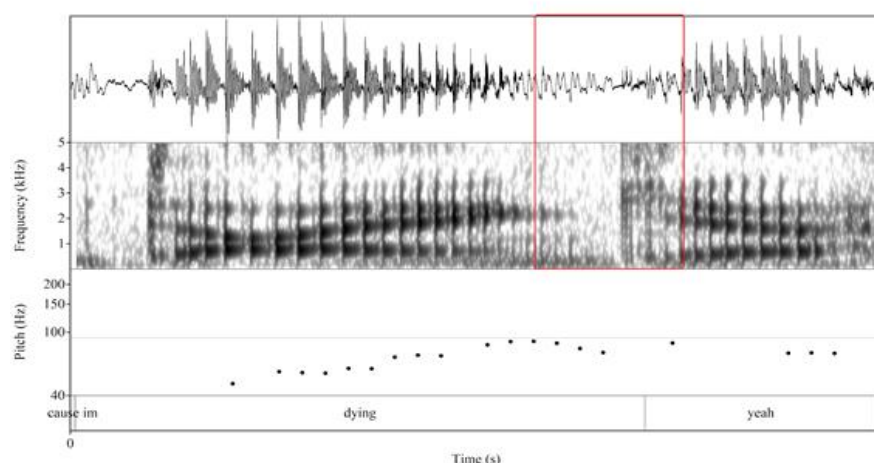


Figure 6.10 Dan’s transition from “dying” to “yeah”, with continuation of voicing (marked) and creakiness

Dan’s noticeable but prosodically blended shift in footing orients to his duality in roles, and makes explicit his awareness of participation roles. Dan’s “yeah” does not appear to be oriented to the animated sequence, as it offers a more canonical kind of recipient response that brings Dan back to speaking on his own behalf with interactional behaviour coherent with that of a listener, while also having provided an empathic response that claims understanding.

Jon’s first attempt at continuing his story (“it was”, line 78) and the abandoned TCU leading to his “yeah” confirmation with high pitch and volume, -quite disjunctive from the TCU that was in progress -, appears to orient to this confirmation having been missing, given that he is entitled to accept or decline Dan’s “speaking on his behalf”. Thus, he retrospectively treats Dan’s contribution at line 76 as a candidate account of the implications of his request to the nurse . This late confirmation that Dan’s contribution could have been said on his behalf may also be an orientation to Dan’s

contribution having created a slight delay in the progressivity of the narrative, in that the start in line 78 ("it was"), and the new attempt at building this TCU, later abandoned for "I was so scared", seem to have slightly derailed the continuity of the narrative, which is now being reoriented into another extreme case formulation of fear (lines 78-85) that stepwise-shifts (Jefferson, 1985) this part of Jon's story into another "horror" narrative of UK traveller insurance troubles in the US.

Example 6.5 MCY02BAR "Cause I'm dying" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
78      it was: (↓`oh?) = i was so `scared;
79      `so scared = cause i was -like?
80      if anything `bad happens `here
81      i cant a`fford it to go `wrong = be-cau:[se]
82 DAN                                     [°hh]
83      `oh youre in a[`merica. = like `how do you:;      ]
84 JON                                     f[my insurances only covering so `much]
85      ((lip smack)) <<all>(only/they cover/s me so much)>
```

In animating his own voice in a situation which is different from the current conversation, Jon is an observer of his own self, and Dan is given an opportunity to experience something through Jon's enactment and show sympathy and understanding, which he takes by speaking on Jon's behalf and producing the account for Jon's animated request to the nurse. In this sense, the association is done in the here-and-now of the interaction through the voicing of Jon's past displaced self, which makes this a "safer" environment for speaking on behalf of the other. Thus, in this joint animation, Dan and Jon act as a single unit of participation in the narrated experience, and this is exploited for the needs of the here-and-now of the interaction, where both position themselves momentarily as co-experiencers or co-victims.

Summary

Returning to the basic sequential organisation identified, let us summarise some of the key issues around each of the stages and how they contribute to the management of moral issues referred to earlier:

Initiation

1. A: "Adumbration" of troubles or complaints, underspecified
The anticipation of a complainable or a troubles-telling on its way is the first way of securing some form of go-ahead, not just structural, but also affective. Co-participants have a "prior warning" of the activity and actions projected.

2. B: Affiliation OR

Negotiation of the terms of the complaint/trouble

Particularly when co-participants share epistemic access to the events retold, what constitutes the actual trouble or complainable may be a shared matter and may need fixing before the sequence can move forward. When this is not problematic, co-participants may be producing tokens that act as "go ahead" because they treat the matter as recognisable but also orient to this as not being the actual core of the activity, as more is projected.

Core

3. A: Topicalisation of the trouble

Ensuring that the terms of what is troublesome or complainable are clear and negotiated by co-participants is another way of making sure there is some "safe ground" both in epistemic terms but also to secure affiliation, so at some point in the cycle the trouble or complainable is made explicit and "on the table", as it were.

A few examples in the collection combine this and the next stage, topicalising the trouble or complaint with elements that are normally part of the escalation stage.

4. B: (Minimal) Affiliation

Even though the degree to which affiliation is offered at this stage differs across cases, this is a point in which co-participants offer a response that aligns with the stance being presented. This response generally confirms to the tellers that a matching stance has been secured, so a more empathic or stronger affiliative reaction can now be pursued more “safely”.

Development, Escalation

5. A: Escalation, specification, enhancement, exemplification of the trouble/complainable through animation:

(In complaints only: Voice of the transgressor/offender)

This is the locus for animation. In complaint stories, at this point, the transgressor is brought to the here-and-now, as evidence and as an interactional “object” to be assessed. This is one of the points where the defining features of animation as a practice that enable vividness and immediacy and at the same time detachment for evaluation purposes are set into action.

(Complaints AND troubles-telling:

Voice of A’s affective reaction/decision

Before the extended turn-at-talk is brought to an end and the affiliative response is made relevant, co-participants are provided with one (more) animation, that of the teller, whose thoughts or actual responsive speech in reaction to the trouble/transgression is made available. Sequentially, then, this animation -overlaid with particular design features- makes the victim’s stance clear, and mobilises a response in a slot that is safe for the co-participant in that the slot will not be sequentially adjacent to the transgressor, so they may be spared of explicitly condemning that figure.

6. B: Affiliative response involving co-animation of voice of
A

The co-animator instantiates their empathetic insertion and endorsement by literally “doing being” the voice of A, by engaging themselves in the there-and-then of the animation space and keeping it open, speaking on their co-participant’s (and their own) behalf. This is the moment of the display of a co-complaint or a co-victim role.

Closure, exit

7. A: Confirmation OR
Embedded correction OR
Progressivity onto next “order of business”

As mentioned earlier, this final stage exhibits variation in the collection. Even though no explicit rejection of the co-animation is provided in any of the examples, no matter the epistemic differentials between the co-participants, co-animations go unsanctioned, and although they may be subject to embedded correction, they are more frequently than not explicitly accepted by the original tellers.

6.5 Concluding remarks: Co-animations as associative and “into-the-moment” empathic responses

Most of the literature has described the use of reported speech to enact the complainable behaviour, but the focus had been on the enactment of the transgression (Drew, 1998; Paul Drew & Walker, 2009) to enable the co-participant to explicitly formulate or assess the complaint. The types of responses and the tendency towards co-complaining has also been described in prior work, though very little has been said about the way in which co-participants can achieve this and other forms of affiliative response through co-animating the same voice.

This chapter has focused on the emergence of animations and co-animated responses in complaints and troubles-telling episodes, and it has explored the role of prosody and gesture in contextualising affect and providing evidence and granular access for the level of grievance involved in the episode as well as displaying levels of perceptual and visible “fusion” of voices. Animation has been shown to be a practice deployed to orient to the relevant moral, legitimisation, and affiliative concerns that cluster around these activities.

In the collection, as established earlier, the first animation comes at a point within an escalation (Drew & Holt, 1998) in the description of the trouble or the complainable behaviour, within what Traverso (2009) calls the “complaint development”. In the development of complaints and troubles-telling, a moment is reached in which the co-participants have built enough epistemic and affective ground for the teller to have a safe space to enhance the complaint and seek a more empathic or endorsing response. It is at this point of escalation that the animation comes in, enacting the previously formulated or “adumbrated” complaint or trouble in a way that gives their co-participant access to the sense of grievance or damage. The co-animation is then possible because, as Goffman (1978:798, as cited in Couper-Kuhlen, 2012) has stated: “to quickly appreciate another’s circumstances (it seems) is to be able to place ourselves in them empathetically.”

This collection shows how the co-animation appears to be triggered not by the animation of the “wrongdoer”, but of the “victim”. It is the animation of the response to the reported trouble/complaint that mobilises a response that could but need not necessarily be a “me too”, but which should at least act as an other-legitimation of the reaction as being valid/measured in connection to what happened. And in spite of any epistemic differentials –particularly in terms of first-hand access, and even,

entitlement-, these co-animations reveal co-ownership of the activity and the affective stance presented. Hoey (2013) formulates this in this way:

“...in empathic affiliation, you must display not that you know about an event or experience in its particulars, but that you know what it would be like and how a co-participant might experience it. In this way, an empathic response is epistemically fitted to the invitation to display empathy, as both participants may for the moment sidestep the issue of insufficient shared history” (p.1,2)

Therefore, responsive animations provide a form of empathic response that resembles the “into-the-moment observer responses” described in Heritage (2011): “responses in which recipients place themselves as imaginary witnesses to the scenes of experiences described by tellers” (p.171). However, instead of positioning themselves as observers or witnesses, through co-animation, co-participants are heard to be “doing being” the co-participant, speaking on A’s behalf, or on A+B as members of a collectivity (Cantarutti, 2019).

Therefore, co-animators position themselves as co-experiencers of trouble, or co-complainers, and in that way index the sharedness of the values around what makes something sactionable, or troublesome/in need for sympathy, suspending their Self-Other boundaries by speaking on each other’s behalf. And in this way, co-participants associate around what they have negotiated as a shared stance around a shared set of values, “teaming up” against an absent third party or a third position which is seen as transgressive or harmful.

7. Co-animation in teasing and joint fictionalisation episodes: morality and the extraordinary

7.1 Introduction: Co-animation, playfulness, and joint imagination

In our exploration of the connections between co-animation and association, the previous chapter discussed co-animation in troubles-tellings and complaints, where responsive co-animations were said to be occasioned by a participant's animation of their own thoughts or reaction to the trouble or transgression experienced. Co-animating was found to be a way of producing an "into-the-moment" empathic response to do co-complaining or co-experiencing, irrespective of the absence of any first-hand epistemic access on the part of the co-animator to the actual event narrated. Co-participants were found to hold diverse forms of access -independent or/and also locally constructed-, and managed their entitlement differentials through the design and positioning of the animation. By means of the epistemic and affective ground built in the development of these sequences, co-participants offered a reconstructed and reformulated version of A's display of indignation or expression of grievance, that is subsequently confirmed by A to have matched the stance projected. Through these animated empathic responses, B is found to be doing being A or A+B, presenting themselves as a co-experiencer or co-victim.

This chapter will focus on co-animations that happen within a different range of activities, in particular *playful teasing and mockery*, stemming from some sort of "extraordinary" event in the here-and-now that results in *joint fictionalisations* (Holt, 2006; Kotthoff, 1999; Stallone & Haugh, 2017). In the collection, playful or mocking

fictionalisations range from joint fantasies, to the voicing of stereotypical and/or recognisable characters, to the animation of Self in a counterfactual or fictional setting. The animated character can be the voice of A or it can be a ventriloquised version of a person or object who is either not in a position to do the talking, or who has been interactionally created. Therefore, unlike the cases in the prior chapter, these co-animations are devised by participants who are more symmetrical in epistemic access, as the animation is built through a process of joint situated imagination (Stukenbrock, 2014), though issues of entitlement, particularly during Other-teasing, may be more delicate.

This example (introduced in Chapter 5, 5.4) illustrates the kind of activity this chapter is concerned with. Ivan and Lila are discussing the difficulties of creative writing when you are a literary critic, something they have both got first-hand epistemic access to as PhDs in Literature, and Lila raises the issue of having writing models (lines 7-9, 11, 13). Ivan introduces the fact that they read fiction themselves, as writers do (line 17) then refers to the related question that is asked of authors at readings (line 23), which leads to a co-production of the question “what are your influences/inspirations” (lines 26-27). This is treated as a miscalculation by Ivan and triggers a sequence of incremental mockery that begins with the implications of the word “inspiration” (29-34) and becomes later upgraded by Lila with the creation of a fictional character who is seen to provide an absurd and implausible answer to the question prompting the whole fictionalisation sequence (40-48).

Example 7.1 MCY10LAPTOP “Influences” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
09 LIL =cause its like the way you would write`anyway;=  
10      =(would `be to -like use) `models.  
11 IVA ~ye:ah,  
12 LIL and -be like ?`oh i `really [like ] (junot `diaz;)=  
13 IVA                                     [ˈm`hm;]
```

14 LIL =im `gonna write (like) ~him,
15 [and -then:] (0.49)
16 IVA [m`hm,]
17 LIL `actua[lly; = we should probably `look at;]
18 IVA [(click)) (well i mean) we read a lot of `fiction ~too]
19 LIL [mm]
20 IVA [so::]
21 like [(`writers do) to`day;]
22 LIL [`yeah. (its ↓`good to -like)]
23 (0.44)
24 IVA [and ?any -time = any `time you] go to a `reading, (0.5)
25 LIL [e?h° (`da:mn;)]
26 IVA oh one of the `questions is `usually -like
27 ^o::h like **[what are your inspi`rations]**
28 LIL **[whAt are your `influe:nces]**
29 IVA [yeah `in]fluence ^isnt it;
30 LIL [`ye:ah;]
31 hahaha
32 IVA `what are your inspi`rations;
33 LIL hahaha
34 IVA ^uh:m
35 LIL **(tell me) a-bout your `hopes and ~dreams,**
36 IVA and like they ^a:ll; = they always ~have them,
37 [`so::;]
38 LIL [`ye:ah,]
39 (0.57)
40 IVA (ivan too) i -me:an
41 LIL its like ↑`no; = i dont `read anythi[ng; °?ha]
42 IVA **[i dont `have a]ny influences;**
43 LIL **[i `actually, = only just (learned) to read ~yesterday,]**
44 IVA [hahahahah]
45 IVA [hahahahaha]
46 LIL [hahahahahah] °hh
47 IVA [hahahha]
48 LIL [↑`me. (.) i am my ↓own ↓↓`infs.:]

49 (.) ↑**walt** `whitman. = of ↓`kosmos.
50 IVA hahahahaha (.)
51 LIL °hh ha
52 °hh
53 IVA ↑what is this `walt whitman in ´kosmos thing?
54 LIL its on -section twenty `four. of: (0.5)
55 [¯song of my]´self,
56 IVA [↑´really?]
57 LIL ¯yeah

As anticipated and can be seen from the example above, these co-animations emerge as a result of ordinary events that “take somewhat a non-routine course” (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2015), of contingencies in the here-and-now, either internal or external to the conversation. These issues become the object of joint playful attention and include **repairable formulations (problems of acceptability or expectation**, Selting, 1996; Svennevig, 2008), **self-presentation (face) issues (self/other-deprecation or self-disclosure)**, or **the appearance of an external stimulus that delays or derails the progressivity of the business at hand**. It will be discussed how these moments, instead of being dismissed, become incorporated into the current talk as teasing or mockery episodes, playfully targetting A, B, or a real or imaginary third party.

The resulting co-animated fantasy, it will be claimed, is a way of jointly managing any face or progressivity issues resulting from this “extraordinary” event. In this way, co-participants are seen to “work together to escalate an impropriety through the enacted turns.” (Holt 2007:76). The final creative product is jointly-owned and represents a co-constructed imaginary or alternative reality that both co-participants agree is laughable.

This chapter will first review some relevant literature on teasing and jocular mockery, as well as on prior work on joint fictionalisation, before moving on to discuss the two groups of co-animation relevant to this discussion: teases and mockery doing face-repair work, and playful fictions that dwell in obstacles for progressivity as opportunities for shared joy and the “unblocking” of derailed talk. The final section of this chapter will discuss how through these forms of joint fictionalisation participants are seen to be associating in the enactment of a single voice which is also the enactment of an identity that reveals their mutual orientation to shared values and norms.

7.2 Teasing, jocular mockery, and fictionalisation

This sub-collection features co-animation done during teasing and mocking activities. Teasing and jocular mockery are two names sometimes used interchangeably in the literature to refer to related phenomena that involve some form of humour (Dynel, 2009; Norrick, 1993b, 1994) directed at the behaviour of co-present Self/Another or absent parties or objects. Jocular mockery has been defined by Haugh (2016:123) as a “form of teasing where speakers figuratively cut down or diminish the target in some way, but do so within a non-serious or playful frame”. Drew (1987:219) defines teasing as “mocking but playful jibes against someone”. These definitions highlight some of the key aspects of this social action: their presumed playfulness and non-seriousness in the face of what would otherwise be a display of criticism or aggression against a party. In Norrick’s (1993:5) words, joking in this way provides a “socially acceptable vent for hostility toward other people and their idiosyncrasies”.

Teasing is an act of “belittling” the other or self, which may imply a form of “damage” to a person’s face. The potential hostility of teasing is actually used interactionally for relational purposes, sometimes turning into “ritual combat” (Tannen, 1990, as cited in

(Norrick, 1993a), an affordance of those who count on mutual intimacy. Current views on teasing, however, uphold that aggression need not be a defining component of this social action (Dynel, 2009; Haugh, 2016), with, in fact, a large number of teases found to become extended sequences of joint and playful fictionalisation, as in this sub-collection.

7.2.1 Teases and mockery as joint fictionalisation

A greater part of the frequent lack of orientation to teasing as aggressive lies in the display of playfulness and non-seriousness that participants design their teasing turns with, though there may be some ambiguity that participants can interactionally manage (Schegloff, 1984b). Contextualising a tease as humorous “prevents a possible ‘trouble-sensitive’ reception” (Kotthoff, 2007:276), pre-empting the possibility of a recipient taking offence (Haugh, 2016), so much so, that they often turn into fictions in our data.

The playful framing is done through many of the resources described for the design of laughables (Ford & Fox, 2010; Glenn, 2003; Haugh, 2014), which, not coincidentally, may overlap with those used during quotation. The use of interspersed or post-positioned laughter particles, extreme case formulations, facial and bodily cues, voice quality changes, as well as of metalinguistic categorisations (e.g. “a joke”, “just kidding”) serve to mark a shift towards the non-serious, and index the contribution as “this is play” (Bateson, 2013).

These indices of play and humour are found to invite not just further laughter, but also evolve into activities that increase the distance from the here-and-now by enhancing levels of absurdity, morphing into what is known as a *joint fictionalisation*, defined as:

“(the) emergent production of a shared fantasy, often with several conversational participants making short contributions which create coherent scenes through the incremental structuring and augmentation of unreality” (Kotthoff, 2007: 278)

Therefore, what is treated as playful and humorous generally bears some kind of contrast or incongruity with what is deemed “real” (Holt, 2016) by presenting some feature of something “abnormal” mapped onto the normal (Drew, 1987:244). This is often done gradually and “leave the realm of reality step by step, one fictionalisation building the ground for the next, thereby enhancing comicality” (Kotthoff, 1999:1). What is more, these incremental teases are seen to escalate into fictions operating on a “system of one-upmanship” (Priego-Valverde, 2009:87), with co-participants upgrading and topping the humour and absurdity of the previous animation in quite a fast tempo (Ehmer, 2011; Kotthoff, 1999).

Joint fictionalisation does more, relationally, than exploit the shared amusement of participants through humour, though like all animations in this chapter these fictionalisations are “consequential for the ongoing co-constitution of relationships among them” (Stallone & Haugh, 2017:20), as they enact through play and detachment the shared stance around which they are associating. Joint fictionalisations make for a resource which, through displacement in time and space into not just an animation space, but a space of improbability or absurdity, allows for the “masking (of) sensitive or delicate social actions, such as criticisms, complaints, reprimands” (Stallone & Haugh, 2017:11). It comes as no surprise, then, that these fictions are part of the resolution of face issues or progressivity problems, and they are a form of doing teasing and mockery. The next section addresses these moral issues in more detail

7.2.2 Teasing, fictionalisation, and morality

As a result of these positional and compositional framing strategies, teasers cannot be fully held accountable for co-participants treating the tease as seriously insulting, though forms of mockery always involve a “risk”, as they are hooked on levels of reality -they are “too close to the bone”, as Drew (1987) remarks- and stem from seriousness. There exist, then, moral, interactional, and relational consequences to teasing (Haugh, 2016), and these are managed through the position and composition of turns, as will be developed below, with animation playing a key role.

In the following example (7.2) of an other-tease involving animation, it can be seen how playful framing can not only appease potentially face-threatening attributes ascribed to the other person, but also be taken up and extended by the very target of the tease. Charlotte is directing Liz’s attention to a group of passing-by teenagers (line 1) to bring up the topic of her upcoming first ever teaching experience (lines 3 and 6). Liz assesses the prospect as “scary” (line 8), self-deprecating about her teaching abilities around Maths (line 9). Charlotte provides a request for further information around her workdays with a display of remembering that pre-empts the answer (line 21), which is followed by Liz’s confirmation (line 22).

Example 7.2 RCECIGARETTE “Teaching” (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
01 CHA how ^old dyou think they [are;]
02 LIZ                                     [°ihh]
03 CHA ↑`thats how ol[d youre gonna be ~teaching,]
04 LIZ                                     [du`nno::;> ]
05      m:m
06 CHA ((click)) maybe a bit `younger;>
07      (1.2)
08 LIZ ~sca:ry,
09      ↑im ^rubbish at maths;=
10      i ↓dont know what im gonna ~do,
11      `give me tha?;
12      (0.64)
```

13 CHA you dont have to do any adding ~up or anything though,=
14 =´do you?
15 LIZ (0.5) i ~might do,
16 CHA (0.4) ↓oh `shit. °hh
17 LIZ [e˘xa]ctly;
18 CHA [hehe]
19 (1.2)
20 LIZ uh:m:
21 CHA what ´day a week are you gonna do it?=`monday;
22 LIZ ((click)) ´mondays,=
23 CHA =´perfect,

Charlotte prefaces the tease with a rising-intonation “perfect” (line 23), what may sound disconcerting and “overdoing” (Drew, 1987) as a response. A response like this to an elicitation for information would normally warrant some clarification, and it comes with a form of account in the form of a playful scenario of Liz teaching with a hangover, done first in the here-and-now of the interaction through the formulation of her being “hanging from the weekend” (lines 24-45), and then turned into an animation with a clear shift in voice quality (lines 27-28), escalating the humour in the tease. This description entails that Liz is seen to get drunk during the weekend, and it may be treated as a face-threatening (Brown & Levinson, 1987) attribute ascription. Liz detaches and resists this characterisation at first (line 30, “this isn’t what we all do at university”) self-extracting from the collective representation of her voice in these terms. By keeping the participation frameworks of the animation, she displays availability to continue in the playful arena of the teasing. As a matter of fact, she later joins in the playful animation after Charlotte’s introduction of a more morally acceptable thing to say to high school students (“we learn great things”, line 31), a specification of “learning” as an alternative to drinking which establishes a contrast. Liz is then seen to be incrementally upgrading Charlotte’s version with an extreme case formulation with higher pitch and volume (line 34), followed by Charlotte’s further incremental elements of absurdity that masterfully and humourously add syntactically

to Liz's animation by incorporating Maths again in an extreme case formulation ("immeasurably", "to the power of ten to the minus four", lines 37-39).

Example 7.2 RCECIGARETTE "Teaching" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

24 youre (gonna have been) ´hanging,
25 from the week´end? °h
26 LIZ ((click)) ((click)) ¯oh ¯no-
27 CHA ~hi kids,
28 ^sorry i smell like ´alcohol,
29 LIZ ?nh° °h
30 this isnt what we ~all do a? university,
31 CHA we [ˈleə:]rn great `thing[s;]
32 LIZ [?nh°]
33 [?nh° ?nh°]
34 <<h, f> its ex`p(h°)a:nded my ~mi:(h°)i:nd;>
35 ?nh° ?nh° °hh
36 [°hh]
37 CHA[i:]`measura[bly.]
38 LIZ [a::h]
39 CHA to the power of ↓ten=to the ↓minus [↓´fou::r, h°]
40 LIZ [oh `thanks.]

In this example (and many others in the collection) the public admission of fear or lack of confidence by one of the participants triggers a transposition of the situation discussed into a non-serious and absurd, counterfactual scenario, often led first by the co-participant. In a way, this co-animation sequentially overrides the prior self-deprecating recognition, with the help of the co-participant who uses an animation space to create a possibility of *jointly* walking away through play from the potentially problematic self-presentation issues that one of the participants appears to have created for themselves.

This form of "sequential deletion" is possible because positionally, teases are seconds, or responsive (Drew, 1987) turns. One of the interesting points around this practice is

how teasables emerge, which is also part of where the moral aspect of teasing is made relevant by participants. Teasing is said to be occasioned by some form of transgression. Participants who are found to be subsequently teased have either made exaggerated complaints, fabulation, or displays of self-aggrandisement, or employed of extreme formulations, that is, as a result of some “overdoing” (Drew 1987), or on the contrary, disclosed some form of self-deprecation or self-pity (Drew, 1987; Haugh, 2010; Yu, 2013), as in the previous example (“Scary” line 8, and “I’m rubbish at maths”, line 09). The ambiguity and naivety of a formulation can also become potential teasables (Norrick, 2003, Everts, 2003 in Haugh 2010), as well as cycles of persistence.

Everything is a potential teasable, and it is interesting to note that in this sense, teasing is a metalinguistic (metalingual, in Norrick, 1993) action, by which speakers attract attention to something funny about prior talk through repetition, a second production of the formulation in a new context to exacerbate its use, or an explicit comment on the formulation. In this way, relational and identity issues are made relevant, as “participants clarify what is acceptable in their own speech, and thereby allows them to achieve interactions in which they ‘speak the same language’, as this fosters rapport (Norrick, 1993). Teasing others about what is not seen as an appropriate form of talk or behaviour, thus, strengthens group identity around shared values and enforces norms (Norrick, 1993; 1994; Günthner, 2007), “putting the record straight” (Drew, 1987:230) after a transgression has been made. Not surprisingly, these relational consequences of teasing have also been described for the use of reported speech in general (Günthner, 2007; Stallone & Haugh, 2017). However, a greater part of what is negotiated as an in-group feature and as a laughable or morally sanctionable depends, as is to be expected, on the co-participant’s response to the tease, and the prior case (“Teaching”) showed how co-participants may adjust to each other’s contributions if disalignments as to what counts as a laughable characterisation appear.

Therefore, the final positional and moral consequence of teasing when it is initiated by Other relates to how they are oriented to by co-participants. Responses to teases may span along a continuum from full acceptance, appreciation, and going along with the tease with or without qualification (see example 7.2 “Teaching” above), to indifference or po-faced rejection (Drew, 1987). In this respect, responding via laughter may be a form of appreciation of the humour of the tease, but it does not guarantee alignment with the terms of the tease nor co-implication with it (Glenn, 2003), as laughter may precede po-faced responses, that is, a serious response consisting of, for example, [No] + [serious account], or a correction. According to Drew (1987), these constitute the most frequent responses to other-teases, but this is not reflected in the current collection of teases involving animation.

The next section will zoom in on the self- and other-directed teases in the collection that become co-animations. Their occasioning, design, and orientation will be described in detail, with a focus on the moral and relational implications that are made relevant by co-participants.

7.3 Co-animated Teases of Self or Other

In our collection, co-animation is a resource to do teasing, and these make up a complex practice that co-participants use to fictionalise a situation that occurs after an “extraordinary” event (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2015): an explicit display of embarrassment (Goffman, 1956) or self-deprecation or disclosure, and enables co-participants to escalate the situation to a level of ridicule that the initial transgression may be overridden.

7.3.1 “Errors” of acceptability or expectation

The first kinds of transgression these co-animations are seen to be orienting to are around an issue of acceptability or expectation (Benjamin & Walker, 2013, Svennig, 2008), particularly an issue with a formulation or its design, which may trigger an operation of repair or a formulation of trouble, followed by self- or other-initiated teasing.

In the following example (MCY11LAPTOP "Niche", 7.4), Ivan and Lila are discussing literature connected to Dominican rites of passage with reference to one of their colleague's presentation at a conference. At this point, it could be said that there is an "incipient state of teasing", in that seconds prior to this part of the interaction (not shown, though traceable in example 4.56 in Chapter 4, MCY11LAPTOP "Really?"), Ivan has twice oriented to Lila's formulations in her responses in a teasing manner. This excerpt begins after Lila has produced an account as a result of one of the teased formulations, which was appreciated through laughter but responded to otherwise in a po-faced manner. The transcript below will show the interactional development of an issue of acceptability incurred in by Ivan that gets repaired and becomes a co-animated tease.

Example 7.3 MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```
01 LIL          [but i supPOse `YES.]
02 IVA not `Eve[rybody is as ^NICHE ]((ni:tʃ))a:s ʔuh[: ]
03 LIL                                     [↑^N]ICHE
                                         ((ni:tʃ))

04      hahahaha (0.7)
05 IVA what `IS it.
06 LIL ^NICHE. ((ni:f))
07 IVA ^NICHE? ([ni:f]) ^DAMmit, [°hh haha   ]
08 LIL                                     [hahahahaha]
09 IVA [STRIKE thAt from the <<p, cr> ↓`REcord> °hh]
10 LIL [hahahahaha °hh                    ]
11      <<l, cr> thats `NOT how i tAlk>
```


12 IVA [hahaha]
 13 LIL [<<l, cr>**Every (day/`YEAR.)**>] o´KAY?
 14 **i was just <cr> prEtty `TIRED.>**
 15 IVA °ss i Al(?h°)so thr almos(h°)t THR(h°)REW my
 16 nO(h°)tebookh° a`R(h°)OU[ND; hahaha]
 17 LIL [ihhh°] i `ALmost; (.)
 18 a°h li(h°)ke in my office hour (i was like)
 19 talking to this student

Ivan's response (line 2) to Lila's prior po-faced account involves what appears to be a comparative assessment -perhaps leading towards a third tease- that is not completed. In his response, the pronunciation of the word "niche" gets picked up on by Lila, who produces a partial repeat ("niche", line 3) initiating repair, and post-positioned laughter (line 4).


Ivan smiles, and produces two successive instances of lip rounding (resembling "whuh" [wʌ wʌ]) during the 0.9 seconds where there is no verbal material marking incipient speakership, before launching his own repair-initiation (a request for clarification, line 5) on the solution to the trouble. Lila offers that solution (line 6), which gets repeated by Ivan (line 7) before producing an interjection/imprecation (line 7).

Shared laughter ensues, accompanied with the rocking of both Ivan and Lila's bodies back and forth -clear markers of shared laughables, as described in Ford & Fox, 2010- in synchrony (see transcription 7.3 below). As Lila leans forward, Ivan leans backwards and turns his torso and gaze towards an area away from the current interactional space. Turning to look away towards where the researcher is known to be sitting, and rotating back again to home position, Ivan begins a directive (line 9) addressed to the researcher carrying out the recording.

Example 7.3 MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



07 IVA 'NI*CHE? ([ni:f]) 'DAMmit, [°hh haha]
 iva *leans forward.....----->
 08 LIL [ha+hahaha]*ha
 iva >////////, *turns round-looks@cam
 lil +leans forward & back>>

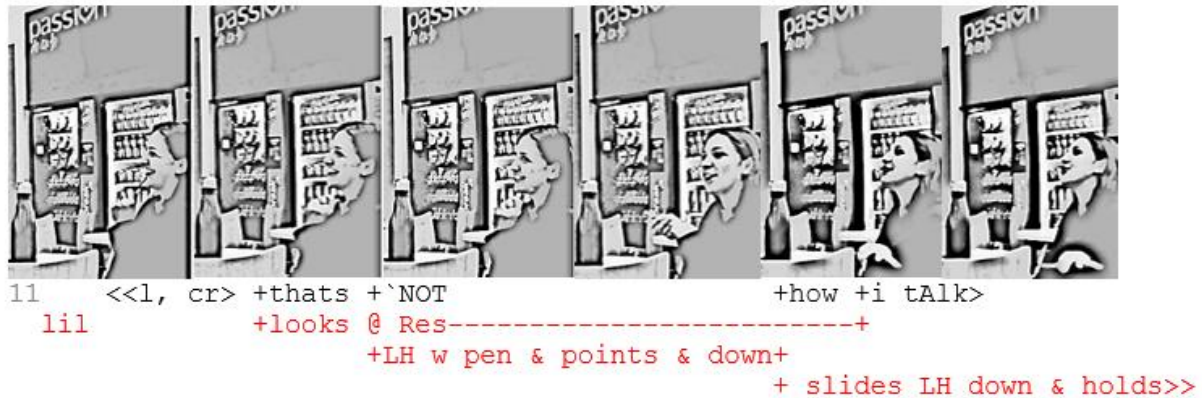


09 IVA [*`STRIKE thAt from * the <<p, cr> *↓`REcord> °hh]
 iva >*looks @Researcher,* *leans forward
 10 LIL [+hahahahaha °hh]
 lil +>

The formulation of this directive (line 9) is done in a particular way, given that it is done as an instance of “legalese”, a form of verbally instructing the removal of evidence from a formal procedure. This formulation, then, appears to orient, in a playful and “overdone” manner, to some form of face-damage that goes beyond the mere mispronunciation of a word, and may -though this is a speculation- be related to the “nerdiness” and epistemic authority of the prior talk on literary criticism. The overdone character of the formulation marks more clearly both the entry into the animation space and the playful aspect of the directive.

Lila gazes at the same area where Ivan originally turned to, and this appears to be the first indication of her talk being addressed at the same recipient.

Example 7.3 MCY11LAPTOP “Niche” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



With the pronoun “that”, which anaphorically refers not only to “niche”, but seems to encompass any unspoken implications coming with such mispronunciation, Lila begins two accounts (lines 11-13) on behalf of Ivan’s character/persona, with an “I” that appears to be assigned to Ivan, as it is congruent with the other referential elements in the turn and would be incoherent if ascribed to the voice of Lila. This first account is embodied with a beat gesture on “not”, done with the pen, and a downward, stretched hand (downward open palm) gesture, going low as her own voice becomes quieter and lower in pitch (see multimodal transcription above).

Prosodically, Lila’s production is integrated, showing how it is appended to Ivan’s prior animation. Even though it is not in absolute terms lower than Ivan’s talk, when it comes to their relative ranges, Lila is seen to be orienting to Ivan’s prior animation, for example, making use of a similar limited pitch span (4.94 ST for Ivan, 4.95 ST for Lila). Ivan’s finishing point is below his mid range, and Lila’s takes up from a point in her mid range and moves to a much lower area in her range, also matching the falling tone of Ivan’s production, thus continuing the line of declination, and making this an instance of prosodic integration/continuation (Auer, 1996; Szczepek-Reed, 2006). Both Ivan and Lila make use of creakier voice qualities, as clear in figure 7.1 below.

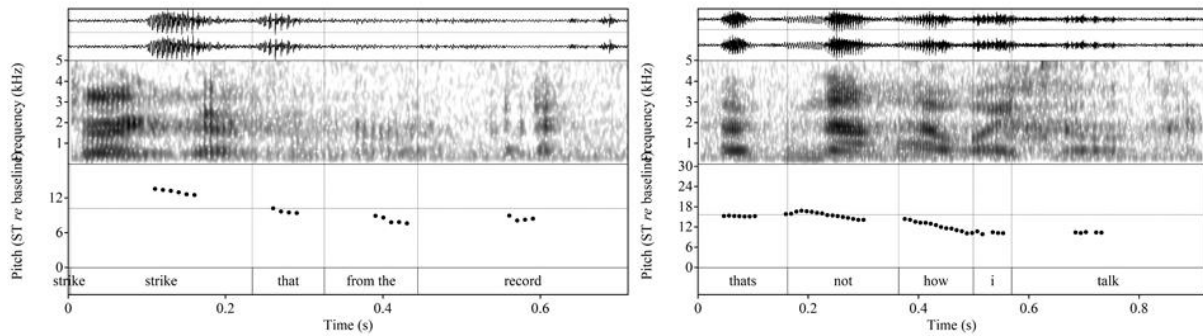
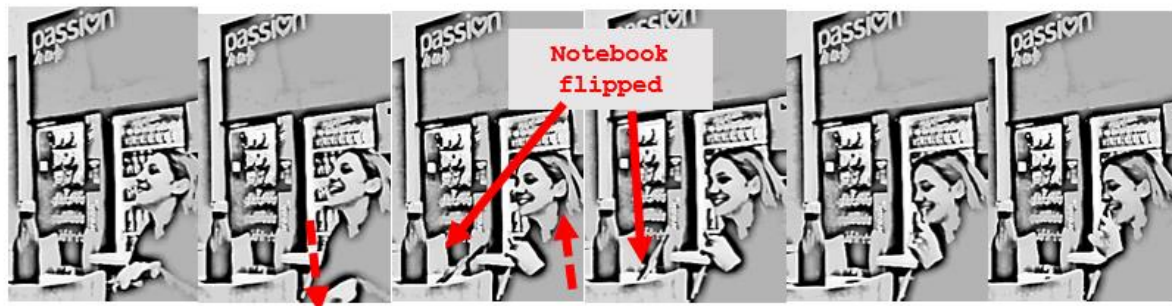


Figure 7.1 f0 traces (in semitones, scaled to speakers' ranges) and spectrogram of first two co-animated contributions.

Lila's "that's not how I talk" (line 11) is followed by an even lower and quieter increment which has been decoded as "every day" (line 13, a candidate hearing), and which is done while her hand with the pen starts returning to home position. However, upon making this movement, the pen lifts the notebook, causing it to almost fall from the table.

Example 7.3 MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



13 LIL +[[<l, cr>+Every (day/`YEAR.)+>] o+`KAY?
 Lil >>(palm held down)-----,,,+
 >+-----+LH swings,,,,,,,,,,,,,+LH hits notebook

This increment is followed by a tag-like "okay?" that seems to project some entitlement addressed to the person against whom the defence is made. At this point, Lila has accidentally flipped her notebook, and is self-grooming with a smile. Given this new contingency, Lila's next account (line 14) is more ambiguous as to ascribable

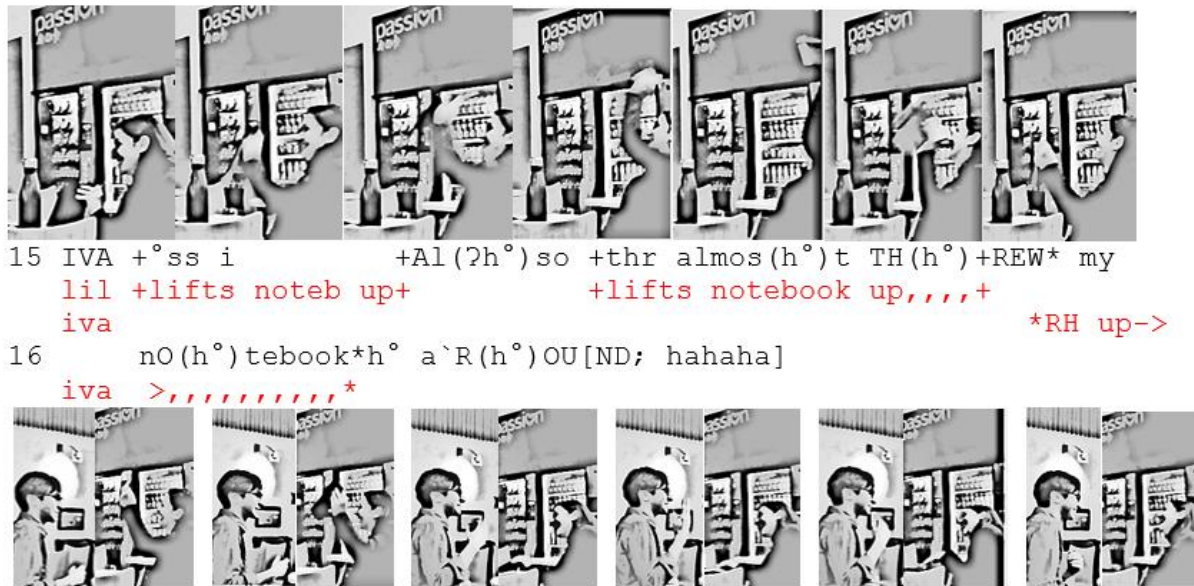
authorship, as it is not clear if this account is still spoken only on Ivan's behalf, or whether it incorporates Lila's own "accident" as well. Ivan is, during the production of this account, directing a gesture to the notebook, laughing at the incident and making it also the object of joint attention.

Example 7.3 MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Upon the pointing, Lila then re-does, in an overdone manner, the throwing away of her notebook with two upward gestures with the notebook in her hand, and as the latter of these is released, Ivan repeats the iconic gesture with his hand, with an open palm holding what could be an imaginary notebook, and upgrading Lila's gesture. This is aligned with his in-laughter particles as he says "I also almost threw my notebook around" (line 16), which through "also" adds to the ongoing animation, making "I" again the pronoun of what is now a joint persona, incorporating her accident into the tease. This formulation is an animated description of the action they have witnessed, which can also be incorporated to the domain of the account of tiredness animated above.

Example 7.3 MCY11LAPTOP "Niche" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



A telling is finally launched by Lila (line 18) which relates this precise activity to a funny experience in one of her office hours with her students, extending then the teasing activity, this time making herself the target of the tease. Other teasables emerge, and Lila is made the target by Ivan. Resumption into the current topic is done by Lila 40 seconds after this, but Ivan's original "niche" formulation is never recycled.

All contributions in lines 9 to 11 were oriented to through laughter, and not only thus appreciated, but also continued and expanded on. It is the presence of shared laughter that not only marks playfulness and non-seriousness, but also invites further laughter (Jefferson, 1979).

Through this element of playfulness and joint animation while teasing each other both co-participants "set the record straight" (Drew, 1987) by presenting an account that "saves their face". They jointly in a way co-experience the embarrassment and by escalating the features of play and engaging in joint play then they sequentially override the fault, which makes this a safe space for co-participants who have displayed some mutual intimacy to laugh at their faults.

The interplay of play and seriousness is present in this playful form of repair. Unlike self-deprecations that make disagreement relevant, self-teasing accompanied by laughter appear to first make laughter relevant, thus constituting a safe space for the teasing to be continued by the co-participant. Other-teasing appears to constitute more of an interactional and relational risk in this regard. Ivan's self-teasing was oriented to with a co-animated tease, but one that does an account on his behalf, and as such, a form of affiliative "condemnation" of the criticism, as one would find in self-deprecation.

7.3.2 Moral transgressions

Apart from issues of acceptability or expectation, the transgression may be of a more explicit moral nature, which initiates a speaker's display of embarrassment or a form of self-disclosure or self-deprecation, and becomes the object of the fictionalisation, and thus, the tease.

The following cases present what is perhaps an opposite kind of job of the co-animated tease if compared with the previous example: instead of fictionalising what "should be", they escalate the transgression to levels of absurdity and ridicule of what "should not be". In the first case, it is a play gone wrong, a playful complaint probably being taken seriously that becomes a jointly-built tease; whereas in the second, it is the confession to having wanted to brag about something that is ridiculed.

The example below (7.10) shows several shifts into and out of play. Charlotte and Liz have been discussing issues around waterfowl, and they have reached a lapse in their conversation, during which a large group of people walks by. Passers-by had been prior triggers to previous topics (see example 7.2 "Teaching" above), and this is no

exception. After jokingly commenting on their age ("this is the older contingent", not shown here), Charlotte launches some make-believe (lines 1, 2, 5, 6), ascribing thoughts to the passers-by. The entry into the joint pretence is accepted by Liz, who produces a response fitted to the challenge, also self-aggrandizing: "I hope so"..."making some impression" (lines 3, 4), with Charlotte in overlap, continuing the mock self-praise of their collectivity with "really really important people" (line 6).

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```
01 CHA do you `think; = dyou think
02     they `think we re `superstars,
03     (so) weve ↓got a `camera facing us.
04     (0.5)
05 LIZ i `hope so;
06     i `hope its making some [kind of im`pression          ] on
                                ( `someone)
07 CHA                                [(that) we re really -re:ally ]
08     `really im`portant `people; (1.06)
09     (5.03)
10 CHA (youre ?a?)
11 LIZ `would you like? (0.7) start a `movie =
12     = after (everyones `left the::)
```

After what seems to be an encouragement to carry on the play ("you're on/up", line 10, and "would you like to start a movie...", line 11), Liz changes her volume and voice quality and starts a rotating hand movement as she enters the animation space, pretending to be addressing the passers-by, asking them to clear the way. This is done through a directive ("keep moving, everyone", line 13), and account ("we need a clear way for our filming", lines 14-16), and then a louder complaint ("spoiling the backdrop", line 18).

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

13 ↑keep `moving `everyone, =
 14 = we need a -cle:ar (0.65)
 15 need a clear `way,
 16 ↓for our `filming,
 17 CHA nh°nh°
 18 LIZ ↑↑spoiling the `backdrop;
 19 CHA °hh[hahahaha]
 20 LIZ [pf:: hahahaha]

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)



13 LIZ ↑kEep `MOVing `Everyone,= 14 we nEed a -CLE:AR (0.6) 15 need a clEar `WAY, 16 ↓for our `FILMing,

Right after "spoiling the backdrop" (line 18) formulation, Liz displays embarrassment by pursing her lips tightly and lifting one of her shoulders as she gazes at Liz, with her head slightly down, as shared laughter is produced.

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)



18 LIZ <ff>↑↑spOiling the `BACKdrop;>*
 closes eyes---
 purses lips-----
 *raises left shoulder

Added to this self-display of a trouble alert, Charlotte confirms that this has been heard (line 21, "they think you are talking to them").

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

21 CHA they think you are `talking to them;
22 LIZ h° ʔa°hh ʔh° ʔhhh°
23 (it felt it) ´was?
24 but i [really didnt `mean] to say it that h° [´loud?]

Liz then acknowledges that her contribution was supposed to be play by saying "felt it was", admitting she "didn't mean to say it out loud" (lines 23-24) which verbalises, in a way, the previous gestural/postural configuration confirming the display of embarrassment.

As this admission and self-disclosure is being made, Charlotte returns to the playful animation space to begin the tease: by recycling most of Liz's problem formulation (changing "the" backdrop into "my", and accenting "spoiling" instead of "backdrop", lines 25-26), and using creaky voice and a higher pitch register (figure 7.2), Charlotte begins ridiculing the situation. Liz is, during this time, still looking down, and it is not until the end of this formulation that she looks up and re-engages again.

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

25 CHA [<<cr, pressed, p> **youre** `SPOILing;>]
26 [<<f, cr, pressed> **youre** ^SPOIL]ing my bAckdrop;> (0.4)
27 LIZ [hihi]
28 CHA <<f, cr, pressed>**youre** ^RUINing [my:;?>]
29 LIZ [hah °ihh]
30 [ha °ahh ha]
31 CHA [<<l, ff> **mY** `FRAME here;>] (0.33)
32 (<<cr, f>↑⁻CU::T>)
33 LIZ hahaha °hh

Charlotte then upgrades Liz's initial formulation, with a similar kind of voice quality, turning "spoiling" into "ruining" (lines 28, 31), and using a hyponym "frame" (line 31) to refer back to "backdrop", followed by a directive "Cut" (line 32), reminiscent of film directing.

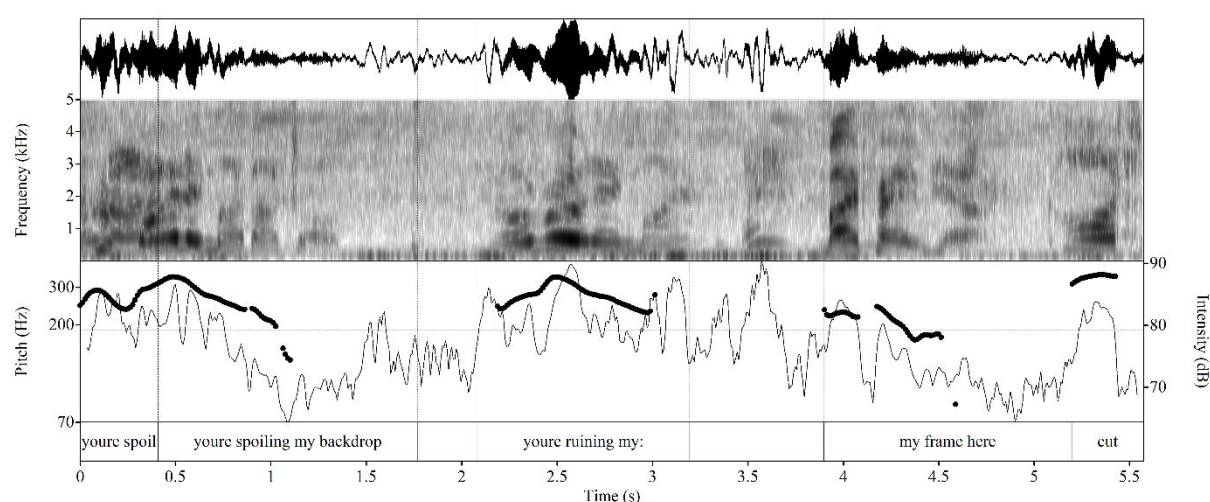


Figure 7.2 Phonetic visualisation of f0 (Hz log), intensity, and spectrogram of Charlotte's animation (lines 25-32, in overlap with Liz's laughter)

Liz appears to orient to this as a list, as she next offers a third component to the series of animated complaints, and her involvement could also be seen as a moment of entitlement redress, given that it is her voice which the animation had been -at least initially- ascribed to. The "frame" (line 31) is picked up in Liz's embodied behaviour, who with the one-upmanship that is characteristic of joint fictionalisations, adopts this director role again and upgrades the "backdrop/frame" into a "vision" (line 34).

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

- 34 LIZ °ʔhh <<f> **ˈI ɹhAd a ʔV:ision:;** > ʔuh°
 35 CHA hehe
 36 <<l, pressed>**and y[ou ʔf:Ucking ˈRUINED iʔ]** >
 37 LIZ [(h)**you are ˈNOT in it.**] he
 38 he °ehhh

Liz's animation changes from the progressive aspect of the previous complaints by Charlotte into the simple past. In spite of her markers of turn-yielding, with the hold of her frame gesture and lengthening of the final consonant in "vision" (Local & Walker, 2012), Charlotte's production of a second part retrospectively treats this as a compound TCU.

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Liz's overall prosodic design is stylised, hearable as a proclamation, and this can be seen in the rhythmic scansion with a succession of three accented syllables (°ʔhh <<f> ˌI ↓ˌhAd a ↑ˌV:ɪʃən:;> ʔuh, see figure 7.3) As the first laughter particle is produced, the gesture starts to be dismantled, and is repurposed as a pointing gesture which will eventually be fully in place as Charlotte produces "and".

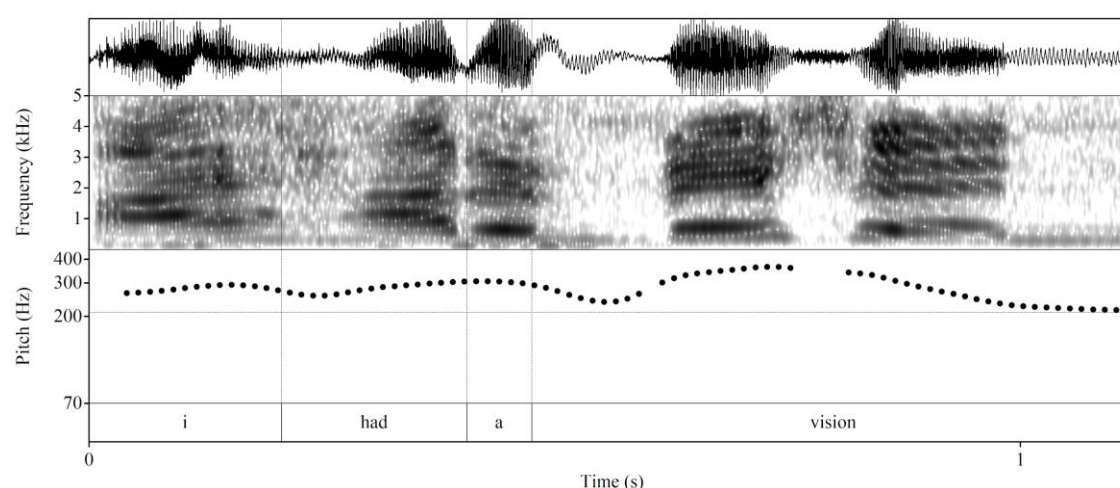


Figure 7.3 Phonetic visualisation of Liz's first part of her co-animated turn (Hz log).

Charlotte's gaze has been fixed on Liz throughout her first animation in line 34 with an open smile. After Liz's frozen gesture and its retraction, aligned with Liz's laughter, Charlotte's smile turns into the production of "and". Even though Charlotte's incoming is at half a beat, it comes in exactly after Liz's inbreath and creates a new projectable rhythm, with both Liz's and Charlotte's peak of their pitch accents falling at a 0.05 second distance from each other, and with almost an equal duration (figure 7.5), leaving only Liz's end of the fricative section of her affricated [tʃ] in the clear. Charlotte's incoming comes at a point where Liz herself could have continued her talk, and the resulting overlap shows Liz adjusting to the completion proposed by her friend, in spite of the resulting lexical difference.

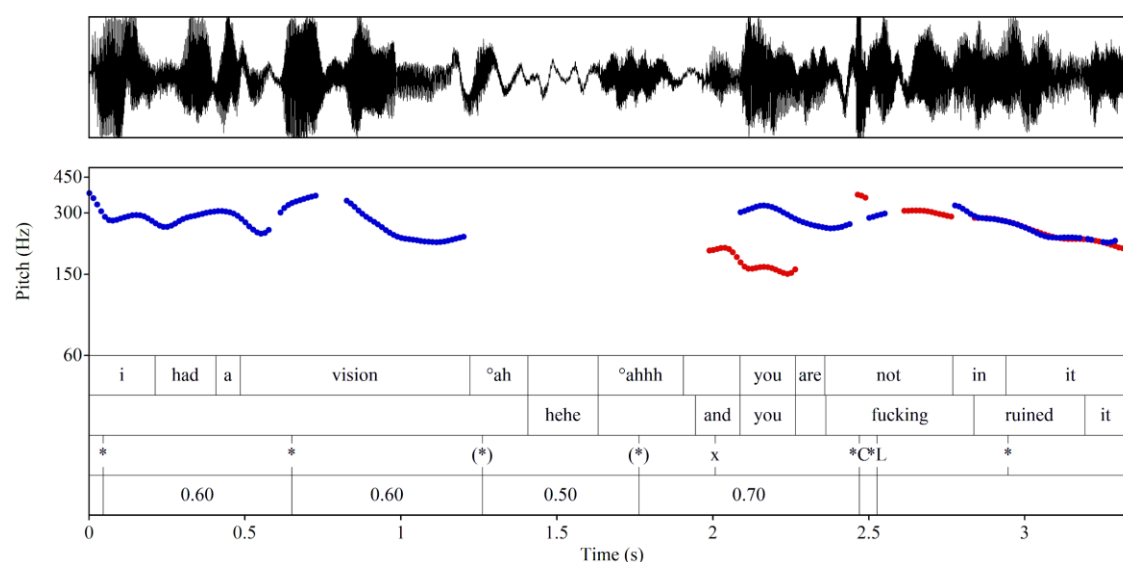


Figure 7.4 Prosodic visualisation with f0 trace (Hz log) and measured beat intervals of the co-animated production in lines (35-37)

Whereas Liz's version of the complaint constitutes a milder version of the complaint ("you are not in it", line 32), Charlotte's version is an upgraded version of her own previous version "you fucking ruined it" (line 31) with the F-intensifier. The timing of these is almost identical towards the end, with only Liz's frication of her [tʃ] being outside the overlap (figure 7.5 below). Prosodically, Charlotte's "and you" begins low

in her pitch, but both pitch ranges match in absolute terms as the overlap is produced (see figure 7.4 above).

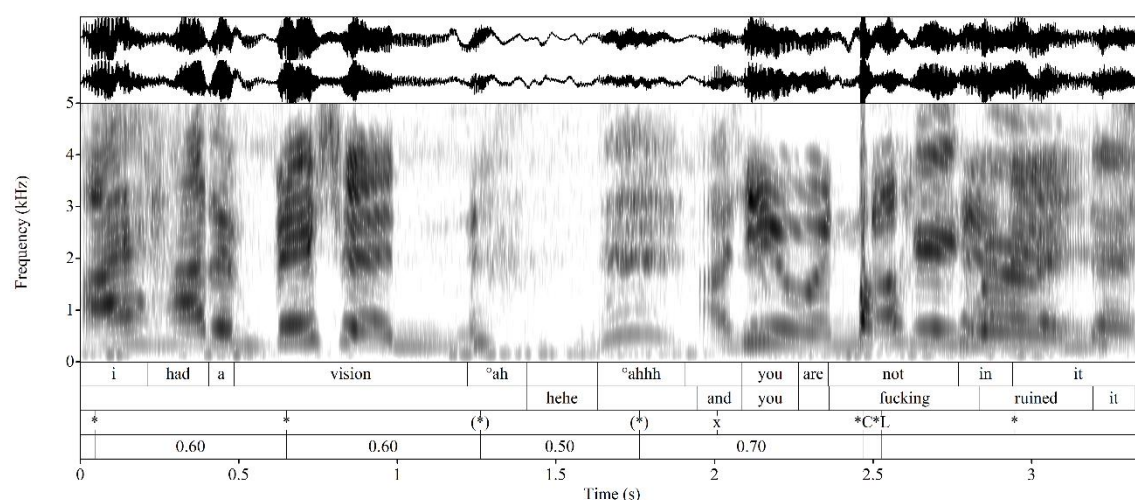
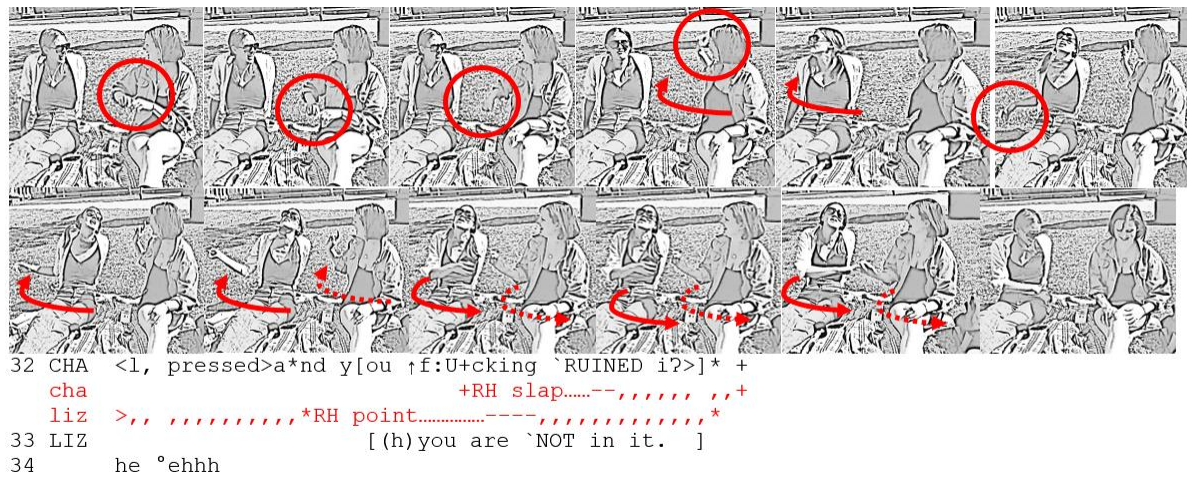


Figure 7.5 Waveform of spectrogram of co-animated production with measured beat intervals (no separate-channel recording available).

In gestural/postural terms, there is also coordination and matching. Liz's frame gesture is held during a moment of mutual gaze, and is released, transforming the action in her right hand into a pointing gesture that is directed to the "backdrop". This turning around is also carried out by Charlotte, who starts this movement later but also effects a turning round in the same direction, with a sharper and faster trajectory with an open hand instead of a pointing gesture.

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



This list is closed with a response cry, and a marker of extreme absurdity and ridicule co-produced with the throwing around of her mobile and orange juice carton, oriented to with mutual laughter and Liz's closing evaluation of "this is really good".

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```

39 CHA °hhh WO::A?h°?h°
40 LIZ [hihihihi ]
41 CHA [hahahaha ]
37 LIZ hahahaha
38 this is really good

```

Example 7.4 RCECIGARETTE "Backdrop" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted; MMT)



This example then reveals one of the key issues that will also later be mentioned of joint fictionalisation: the collaborative upgrading of absurdity, creating greater incongruity with the “real world”, and the mutual monitoring and orientation to each other’s turn-design. Lexical upgrading, prosodic matching and relative gestural matching reveal this orientation and create coherence as both continuations and co-animations.

Through the absurd escalation, the original “offence” is sequentially deleted, and what remains is the playful doing of the original transgression, which provides an opportunity and a safe space for the transgressor to “set the record straight” and sort their self-presentation issues. This is now a shared voice, and a playful one at that, and no longer, due to the creative additions by Charlotte, just a voice to laugh *at* Liz, but *with* Liz, as she orients to this. Moreover, the constructed persona is playfully laying the blame for any transgression onto the passers-by, so their humorous teaming-up is done against the constructed collective of people “spoiling the backdrop”.

This final example (MCY03SPIDER “Planet Earth”) of co-animated teasing also reveals an opportunity to self-repair face, this time, as a result of a self-disclosure of something the speaker did not do, but was tempted to. The moral transgression that was not actually produced but is admitted to have almost been done, is then playfully and jointly enacted.

Laura and Becky are discussing bird droppings. Laura has been discussing her experience of birds pooing on cars in Italy, and this triggers a reminiscence in Becky, who brings up the latest episode of the Planet Earth documentaries (line 1-4, 6). Laura offers laughter and “yeah” of recognition (line 5), adding independent elements that display her high epistemic status “It was Rome as well” (lines 7-8) and confirm the connection established by Becky between the prior talk and the documentary.

Example 7.5 MCY03SPIDER "Planet Earth" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

01 BEC <<all> all 'RIGHT? = cause ↑i think ↑`THAT was in like the
 lAst plAnet `EARTH. (0.6)

02 (when they)were ↓`jOkIng about like? [the amOunt of]
 `SH:IT.=

03 LAU [`YE::↓`AH = `YEAH.]

04 BEC =that was like <<f>`DR(h°)O[PPED; in one ^DA:(?h°):(?h°):Y.>]

05 LAU [<<f>↑↑YE:(?h°)E:(h°)E:S:>]

06 it was ^RO::ME.

07 =↓as [^WE:LL.] ?h?h>

08 BEC [`YE::S]

Example 7.5 MCY03SPIDER "Planet Earth" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



08 LAU <<:->)it *was +*^RO::ME.=+as [^WE:LL] . ?h?h>
 lau *nod *nod
 bec +looks @Lau

09 BEC [(<<pp>Y +E S+.)] (0.3)
 bec +looks away
 +LH index up, +

Example 7.5 MCY03SPIDER "Planet Earth" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

09 LAU <<all> yeah i was> ^WATCHIng i?;=
 10 =and i was trYIng really `HARD; =
 11 =<<all, l> cause i was just. with `FRIENDS; =
 12 =<<all, l>↓`NOT to (just `gO;)>;
 13 <<sty, low larynx> oh ↑I was ^THERE;=
 14 =and i [^SAW it,>]
 15 BEC [?huh hi ↑hi]
 16 LAU ?huh°?huh°?huh°?huh°?huh° °hh
 17 BEC °s::
 18 LAU ?i°hi?hi ?hi ?hi

Becky issues a recognising “yes” (line 5) with an accompanying index finger gesture. After a short pause, Laura looks away and takes up the turn again and launches a telling in which she places herself as being with friends while watching the show (lines 9-11). She starts with a “I was trying really hard” (line 11) and latched to it, an account that can retrospectively be seen to be a parenthetical insert -looking down and with faster tempo-, one that provides important information for the self-tease to be effective (that she was with her friends at the time). Laura introduces a quotative (“go”, line 12) in a negative formulation, which shows that the following quotation is in the realm of the imaginary, as it didn’t happen, but reveals her “overdone” struggle (“trying really hard”, an extreme case formulation) to actually do it. She quotes herself in the imaginary situation bragging that she had witnessed the event on TV, and before her TCU is completed, Becky orients to this with laughter, and an extended period of joint laughter ensues (lines 15-18).

Example 7.5 MCY03SPIDER “Planet Earth” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

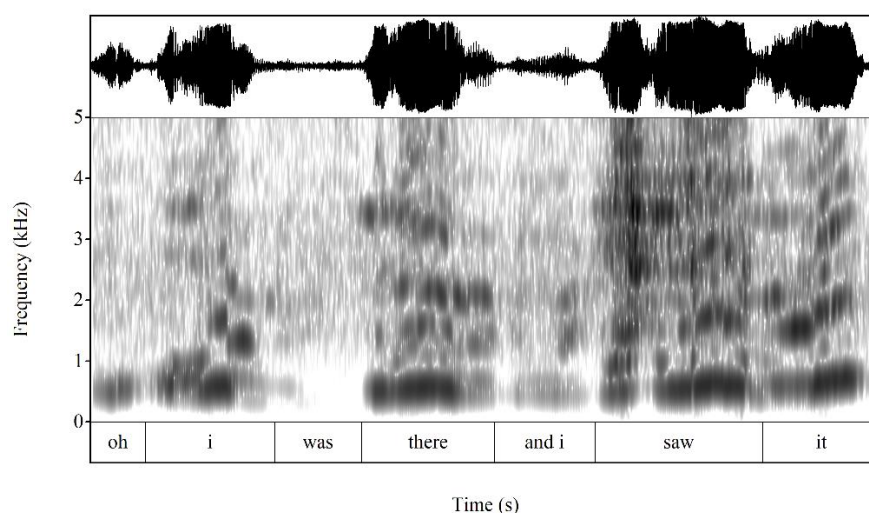
09 LAU <<all>*yeah i was> ^WATCHing i?;= 10=and i was +trYing really *`HARD;
    bec
    lau          *looks away          +looks @Lau          *looks down
                   #fig1                #fig2
11      =<<all, l> cause i was just. with *`FRIENDS;* = 12 =<<all,l>*↓`NOT to (just `g0;)>;
    lau          *closes eyes          *opens eyes
                   *looks up          *straightens up body
                   #fig3                #fig4

```




13 LAU <<mod, low larynx, rounded lips> *oh *↑I was *^THERE;= 14 =and i [*~SAW *it,]>]
 lau *looks up
 *straightens neck
 *swings should*ders(x3) *
 15 BEC [ʔhuh hi ↑hi] *looks @Bec

As the multimodal transcript and stills above (7.5) show, Laura's animation of Self presents a number of markers that reveal some detachment from the phonetic characteristics of her modal voice. She changes her posture by sitting straighter and lowers her neck a little, and produces a voice quality⁹ that impressionistically involves considerable lowering of the larynx, a deeper pitch register, and a rounded lip posture throughout. This is done with a rocking movement of the shoulders and head.



⁹ It was suggested in a data session that this shared voice quality is reminiscent of David Attenborough's, the Planet Earth documentary speaker.

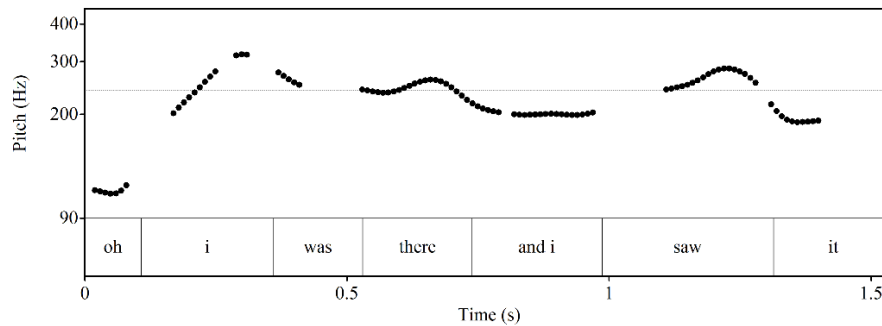


Figure 7.6 Phonetic visualisation of Laura's self-animation (lines 13-14). F0 trace (bottom) is in Hz log, spectrogram (top) affected by mic noise.

Example 7.5 MCY03SPIDER "Planet Earth" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```

19 BEC <<mod, low larynx> ive sEen [one of      ] the `grEAt nAture
20 LAU                                     [ʔh°iʔh°i °hh]
21 BEC `SPECTacles? on [plAnet `EARTH?>]
22     [ʔh°i ʔh°i]
23     `YE:ʔh°:AʔHh°
24 BEC <<l, p, low larynx>`shItting `STARlings;=>
25 LAU ʔh°eh ʔh°eh ʔh°eh °hh

```

Becky affiliates with laughter and adopts a similar voice quality to index this continuity: with a lower pitch than prior talk, just below her midline and a lowered larynx. Becky transforms Laura's "saw it" into "I've seen" (line 16), expanding the field of reference from a single instance into a time-unspecified life experience, and unpacking "it" with a noun phrase object that contains an extreme-case formulation ("one of the great", line 19) and the phenomenon that has gone unexplicated but has been shown to be part of their common ground is treated as a "nature spectacle" (lines 19-21), with the ambiguity of "Planet Earth" being both the show and the object it denotes.

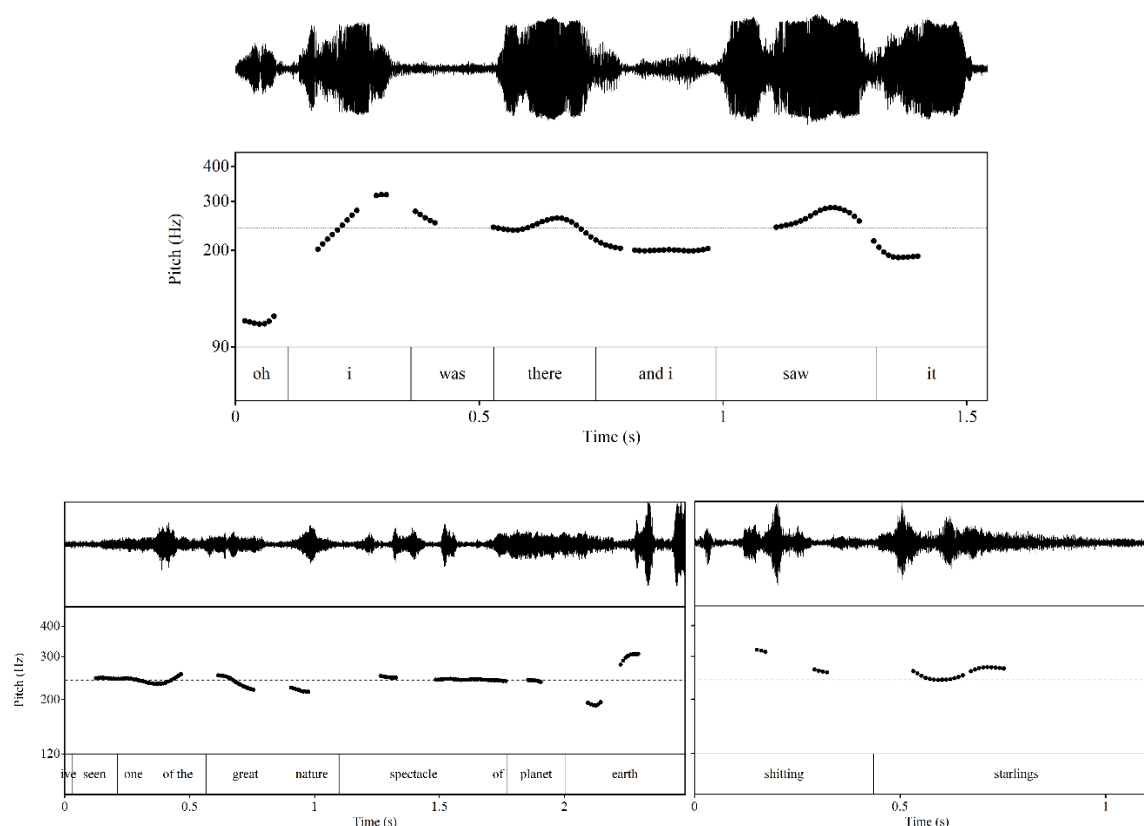
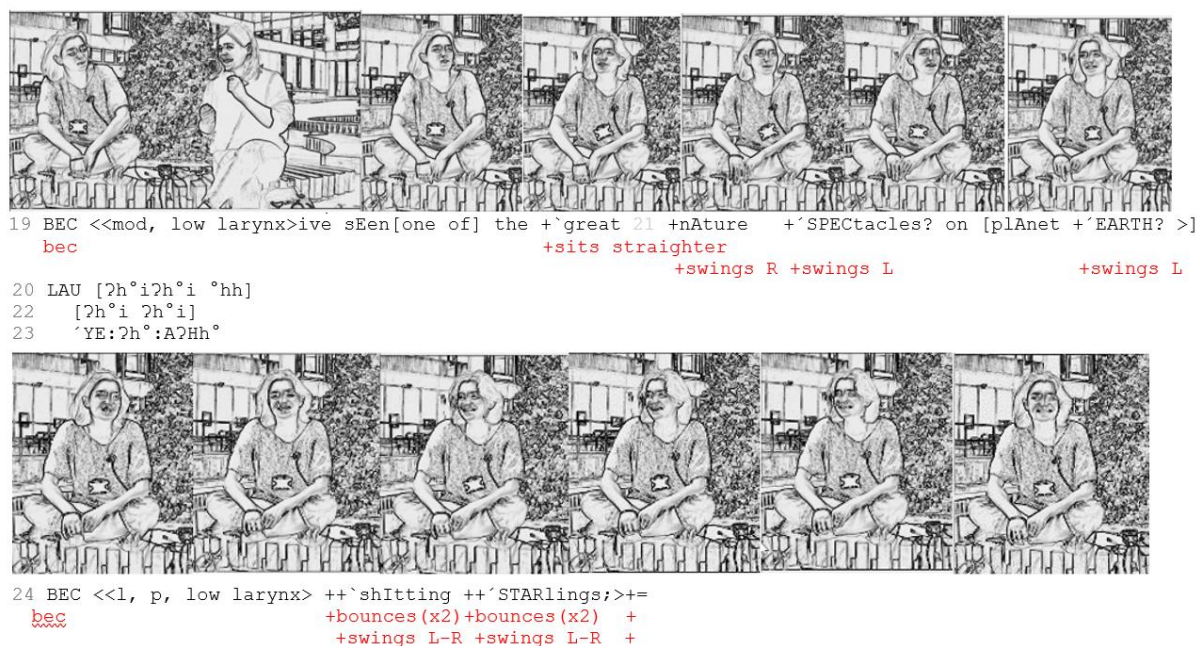


Figure 7.7 F0 trace (Hz log, midline of each speaker marked) of Laura's (top) Becky's (down) co-animated turn

Towards the end of this co-animation, Becky adopts the same straightened, shoulder- and neck-rocking kind of trajectory (lines 21 and 24, see stills below) Laura had produced. The co-animation is again mutually oriented to with laughter, and Becky next produces an increment, a post-positioned noun phrase that creates an anti-climax, with the aggrandising prior mention of the spectacle being now explicated as bird droppings ("shitting starlings", line 24). This is also produced with comparable voice quality and gestural-postural configurations relatable to her previous animation and Laura's own.

Example 7.5 MCY03SPIDER "Planet Earth" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



Laura orients to this with laughter and follows on with another self-deprecating story, starting in line 26, about her being “shat on”. Like in the “Niche” case, it seems that having been the target of a tease, whether self- or other-initiated, creates enough interactional intimacy for co-participants to further share their self-deprecating, self-disclosing, embarrassing stories as objects to be jointly laughed at.

Example 7.5 MCY03SPIDER “Planet Earth” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

26 °ahh I got ^SHAT on.
 27 (0.96)
 28 BEC a `LOT?
 29 (1.17)
 30 LAU i thInk just One or ~TWO,

Laura’s self-disclosure of her temptation to boast of having been witness to the phenomenon in the show is then teasingly explicated in Becky’s co-animation and treated as an absurd idea to brag about. The transgression that was not effected at the real moment of telling becomes co-enacted as a playful object that belongs to both co-participants. Through treating a transgression as playful and to be made fun of,

both co-participants orient to boasting as a normative breach and enact their agreement around this morality issue, using a jointly constructed persona to do so.

The three cases in this section reveal the co-participants use of co-animated teases to “set the record straight” in different ways, by enacting alternative fictions that in a way establish some *contrast* with reality, in one of two directions: either what is morally presented as what should be, or what it shouldn’t:

- a) Co-creating a fiction that stands in contrast to what “should be”, an enacted transgression (MCY03SPIDER “Planet Earth”, RCE01CIGARETTE “Backdrop”; also in the subcollection: RCE01 “Teaching” and “Got a plate?”)
- b) Fictionalising an “alternative present” that fixes some contingency in a co-participant’s self-presentation/face (MCY11 LAPTOP “Niche”; also in the collection MCY11LAPTOP “Influences” and “Bolo”, and MCY06LAKE “Draft an email”)

In this way, co-participants repair any face issues, co-construct a playful but “safe” exit that sequentially overrides the transgression while also orienting to the shared joy of joint creative play in building a new “persona”.

The next section will focus on fictionalisations which, unlike the cases just presented, do not exhibit teases of self but could, arguably, constitute mockery, or at least a playful commentary on a third party. But like the cases just presented, these co-animations will playfully incorporate contingencies arising in the here-and-now to create fantasies.

7.4 Joint fantasising: co-animated mockery and fictionalisation of third parties

The previous section revealed how co-animated teases of A or B seem to sequentially delete, through playfulness and shared laughter, the consequences of a moment in which a participant's "face" has been disclosed to be affected. Playfulness, non-seriousness, and joint creative endeavours as a result of emergent phenomena can also be found when co-participants are not teasing each other, but rather teaming up in a complicit manner to make a humorous fictional production that emerges from contingencies in the here-and-now that get integrated to ongoing talk. They involve the animation of the co-participants themselves or of external objects/participants that get ventriloquised.

Whereas the prior jointly-created and co-animated fictions oriented to issues of acceptability or moral transgressions of the co-participants in the here and now, the joint fantasies in this section engage with the here-and-now in a different way. In terms of social action and the development of ongoing talk, these co-animated fantasies seem to be foregrounding the relational joy of the complicity involved in the creative endeavour, but do not appear to orient to other burning issues in terms of morality and self-presentation, if compared to previous cases. Arguably, the moral issues at play are whether the situations fictionalised by a party are to be taken as humorous by a co-participant, particularly because they may involve mocking or voicing other parties, and as with complaints, they may be oriented to as unfair or malicious.

It could be pointed out, however, that a unifying feature is that they emerge at points in which the progressivity of the activity in progress or the major interactional project may be halted or delayed: after repetition and roundabout ways of saying things (persistence), hitches and perturbations, lapses, distraction due to external

objects/appearances. These animated fantasies “unblock” these progressivity issues, and are simultaneously treated as opportunities for relational work.

As previous cases, these fictionalisations have an incremental and upmanship nature to them, and rely on co-participants’ mutual acceptance/appreciation before the next contribution is presented. Shared laughter appears to warrant possible extension of the activity, while contributing to the ratification of shared ownership of the fantasy shaping up.

Each contribution involves an independent addition to the shared animated voice which could be seen as an element of competition, but which makes it possible for participants to claim joint ownership. Laughter and mutual gaze also seem to index the celebration of the shared achievement towards the closure of these jointly animated sequences (Pfänder & Couper-Kuhlen, 2019).

As seen in Chapter 5, many of these responsive animations are formatted as reformulations of previous turns that either upgrade some of their lexico-grammatical, prosodic, or gestural-postural design, or provide a more specific version of it. On other occasions, these co-animated turns are formatted as other-extensions. As with previous cases, co-participants will be found to orient to previous design features to make their contributions hearable as continuations of previous animations by other speakers; however, given that these voices are not always ascribable to any of the figures of the co-participants, some of these resources may be employed to make this fiction more clearly so.

In the next example (MCY04SANDWICH “Metronome”), Fiona and Jesse are discussing ways of improving the activities of one of the student societies Jesse leads. Fiona has so far actively suggested a few activities, which Jess expresses his thanks for. At this

point, a coot approaches them, making a strange but rhythmic noise, which both of them note and follow with their gaze during a lapse of 1.8 seconds, as they bring the sequence to a close, to start the commentary on the background noise as it develops below:

Example 7.6 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (GAT2 Fine, adapted)

01 FIO †thAts the w:Eirdest `NOI[SE = i]ve †-Ever heard at?
 02 JES [ʔah]
 03 FIO ^sOUnds like anʔ- (0.36)
 04 JES <<downst>`sOunds like it `swAllowed like a ~CHEW toy,> hh°
 05 FIO `O::R erm:-
 06 [a ~METronome:,]
 07 JES [ʔh°a: ʔh°aʔh°a]
 08 FIO sOunds li[ke an ElectrO]nic ~METronome,
 09 JES [oh `YE::AH;]
 10 (1.6)

Fiona assesses the sound as "weird" (line 1) and starts to advance a comparison, but her cut-off and pause seem to mark trouble (line 3). Jesse uses this slot to advance his own guess (line 4), and Fiona presents her guess of its sounding like a metronome (line 5) as an alternative candidate. The use of the coordinating conjunction "or" that hinges on Jesse's previous turn as an Other-Turn-Continuation (Sidnell, 2012a) retrospectively displays her contribution as part of a collective "comparison-finding" activity, in which both speakers engage to find a proper way of characterising the noise. Fiona elaborates her contribution further, producing a full grammatical version of her previous guess, specifying it sounds like an *electronic* metronome. This is done in overlap with Jesse's recognitional plus agreement tokens (line 9) that confirm that this is the simile that both participants have accepted.

This is the first part of several shifts in engagement in terms of head orientation and gaze. Fiona's first observation (line 6) is done with a change of orientation, going from

a previous sustained period of attention to the bird back towards Jesse, who does not reciprocate gaze, as he keeps watching the bird while agreeing.

Example 7.6 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

01 FIO *+↑thAts the w:Eirdest `NOI[SE = i]ve ↓-Ever +heard at?
    fio *>>head and gaze directed towards bird----->4.6
    jes +>>head and gaze directed towards bird----->12.7
                                                +leans forward+

02 JES [ʔah]
03 FIO ^sOUnds like an?- (0.36)
04 JES <<downstepped> `sOUnds like it `swAllowed like a `CHEW toy,>
hh°
05 FIO `O::R erm:-
06 [a *~MET*ronome:,
    fio -->* *head/gaze back towards JES----->

07 JES [ʔh°a: ʔh°aʔh°a
08 FIO sOUnds li[ke an ElectrO]nic *~METro *nome,
    fio *looks @bird*
    
```

This leads to a short lapse (Hoey, 2017; Sacks et al., 1974) as they both continue staring at the coot. Fiona then starts a short stretch of animated dialogue with an audible inbreath and another visible change of orientation.

Example 7.6 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```

11 FIO <<mod; low larynx, fauc,h>°hh `YO::UR uh (0.5)
12     yOur per`FORMance;
12     its got a vERY wEird `TEMPO;>
    
```

With a noticeable shift in her voice quality and pitch much higher than her baseline (figure 7.8), she sets up a fictitious scenario where first an animated unidentifiable third party assesses what could be Fiona's musical performance (lines 11-12). This is done starting with a lengthened "your" and a pause, during which Jesse reengages with her:

Example 7.6 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

11 FIO <<mod; low larynx, fauc,h>
    *°hh `YO::UR      *uh (0.5)12 yOur per+`FORmance;
    fio *head/gaze to JES----->
    jes                                     +-->looks @Fio
                                           +smiles
13   its got a vEry wEird +`TEMPO;>*
    jes                                     +pulls back L shoulder
    fio >-----*
  
```

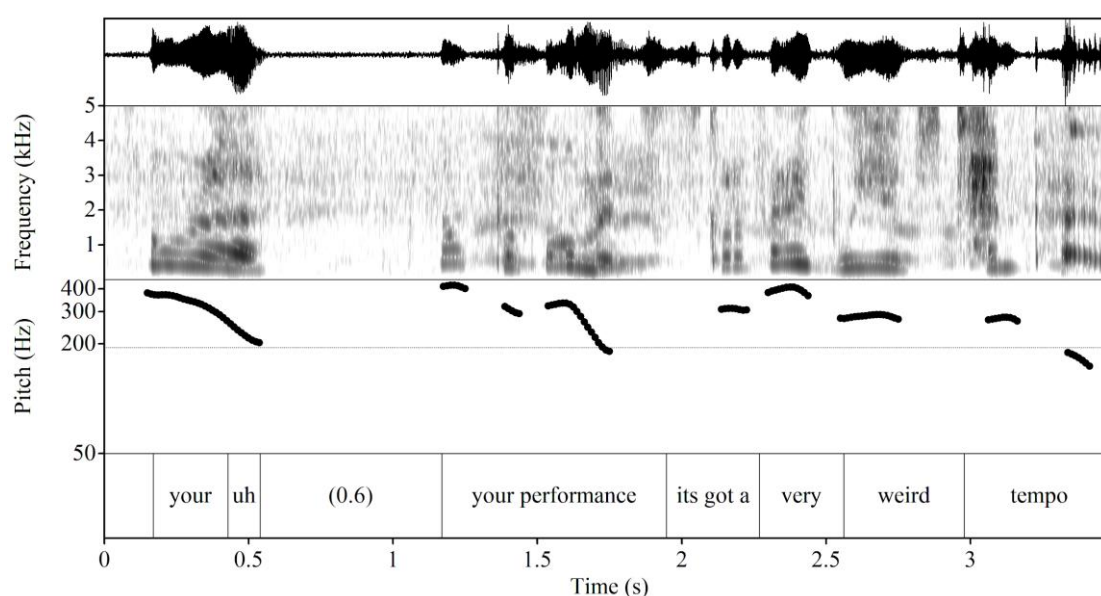


Figure 7.8 Phonetic visualisation of Fiona's first animated voice (lines ; f0: Hz log)

The next voice in this animated dialogue is of an answering Self, marked by a shift to modal voice, and a jerky head movement, up and to the left, aligned with "ah yes" (line 13), which overlaps with Jesse's laughter. There seem to be markers of wording trouble -probably due to the emergent, online, planning of the fictitious situation-, and constant shifts in orientation and gaze, back to the bird, and then to Jess. Her animated voice of Self finishes rhythmically with three isochronous beats: "the cLIcking sOund of a cOot" (line 16, figure 7.10). This is produced in overlap with a cut-off start of what can retrospectively be identified as Jesse's own continuation of the animation: "I just" (lines 15 and 17). Also retrospectively, Jesse's retraction of his left shoulder seems to be related to the hitting gesture enactment done with the left arm later.

Example 7.6 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```

13 FIO ah [ `YES    ]
14 JES      [aʔaʔaʔa]
15 FIO i `PLAY it to the: u::h;
16      [the: cLIcking sOund of a] ↑ `COOT.
17 JES [ʔh°a (i j)      ]

```

Example 7.6 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

13 FIO *Aa::h [ `YES    ]*
    *head tilt      *
14 JES      [a?a?a?a]
15 FIO i `PLAY it to + the: *u::h-
    fio                      *looks at bird>
    jes                      +looks at bird-----
16      [the: *clicking sOund+ of a] *↑`COOT.*
    fio >----*looks @ Jes          *head jolt*

```

Fiona's fictional Self voice is further extended with Jesse's own voice, who specifies the way in which the "playing to the sound of a coot" in Fiona's animated segment is carried out.

Example 7.6 MCY04SANDWICH "Metronome" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted)

```

18 FIO ?huh huh huh °hh [?huh      ]
19 JES                      [°hh `I just;] (.)
20      ↑`HIT it. [haha      ]
21 FIO                      [?h°a?ha?ha?ha?ha]

22 JES [huhuh ↓`rOughly in `TI:(h°):ME? haha]
23 FIO [°ahh hah° ?ahh°      ]
24      ?a°hhh <<cr>a::h>
25      ¯er::m (1.0) `YEAH.

```


The emergent nature of this fictional voice is also evident in the phrasing, as the animation is worded in three “installments” (lines 19, 20, 22), oriented to laughter by Fiona in each stage. The enactment of the “hitting” (line 20) is done with an extended arm gesture of wide trajectory and a closed fist hitting the table (see transcription and stills below). The production is not only intensified by the gesture, but also by the previous pause and length of the [h] sound (see figure 7.9; also Ogden, 2012).

Example 7.6 MCY04SANDWICH “Metronome” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



18 FIO ʔhuh huh huh °hh [ʔhuh]
 19 JES °hh [+`I just;]*+ (.)
 jes +looks to the left->
 +closes fist, puts LA up
 fio *looks @Jes->>
 20 +↑`HIT +it. [haha+]
 jes ->+looks @Fio-----+
 +hits table with fist

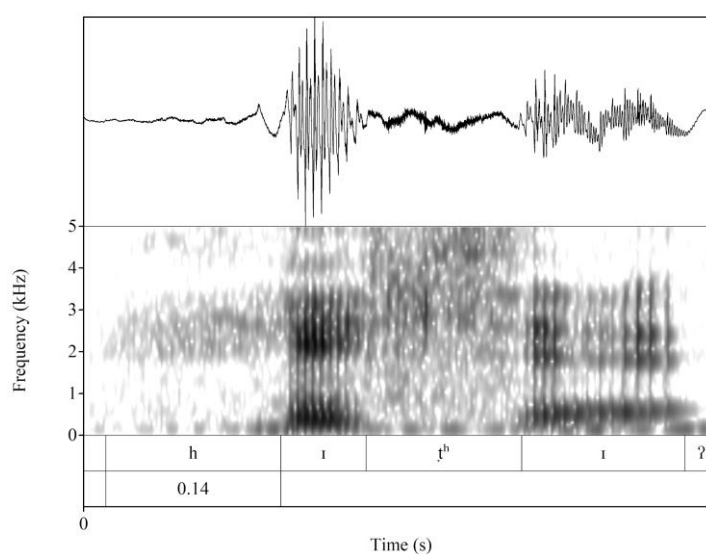


Figure 7.9 Spectrogram showing Jesse's extended duration of his [h] sound and the presence of a long friction period after his [t] sound.

There is no orientation or indication as to whether this is an animation of Fiona in particular, or of a fictional voice created ad-hoc, but both speakers use "I" (lines 15, 19), and semantically and pragmatically, Jesse's continuation seems to be an elaboration of the manner in which the "playing" happens. The reference of "it" (line 20) is likely to mean the actual instrument, but it could point to the coot, and the laughter could orient to either.

An interesting aspect of this co-animation is how the animator and the principal roles interact: both speakers orient to their own and each other's voices through laughter, and in the case of Jesse, these two roles are adjacent, and even overlapping, as line 22 is produced with interspersed laughter. Thus, joint laughter also helps to the association in the two planes of dialogue, the one where the animated voices go together, and the plane of the here-and-now, where both participants jointly assess their contributions as laughable. Those moments of heightened involvement are preceded by changes in head and gaze orientation, that go from the object of attention (the coot) to their interlocutors, and mark to each other the places where affiliative responses are due.

Prosodically, two aspects could be highlighted. Both renderings of Self are produced with modal voice for both speakers, so there is no specific characterisation in terms of voice quality, as there is in Fiona's voice of "Another". The excursion in the pitch range of both animated versions of this fictional Self is comparable for both speakers, as they both make use of a pitch higher than their own mid range, but generally not over 12 STs. Jesse's starting point is high in his relative pitch, as Fiona's finishing pitch point, which makes this prosodically integrated and contributes to the marking of relatedness of both animated voices (see figure 7.10)

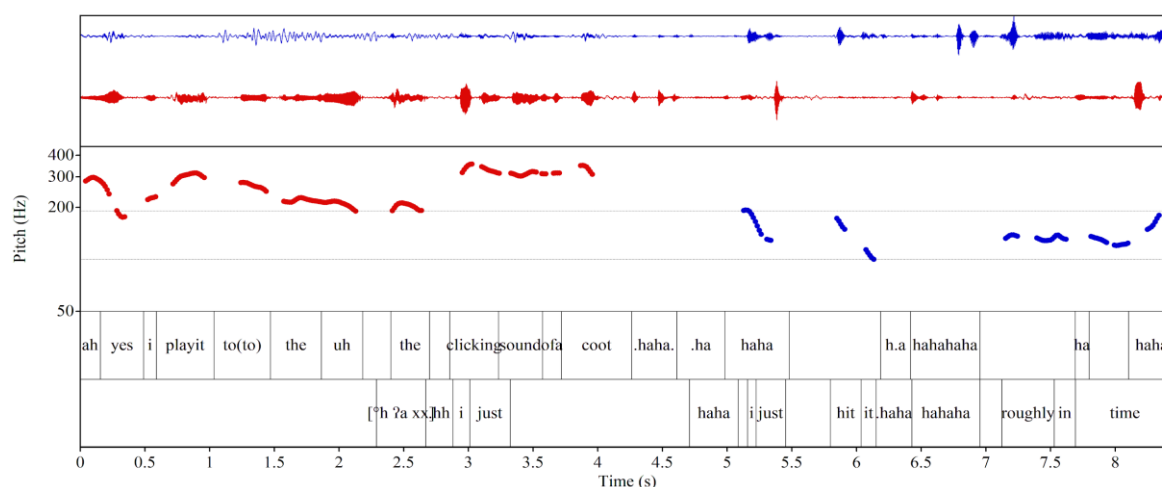


Figure 7.10 Pitch range excursion and contour for LEO and JES' renderings of the co-animated voice (midlines: top: Fiona's; bottom, Jesse's;).

Both Fiona and Jesse then converge in the online, emergent animation of this “interactional persona” -presumably Fiona as a performer-, acting as a single unit of participation in the there-and-then of their jointly constructed general descriptive quotative content. As is the case with other co-created “conversational personas” in the data, this voice is co-designed as holding a certain set of characteristics that are relevant to the contingencies that brought this animation about, as these are the ones co-animators play with in this conversational fantasy. Because of the emergent aspect of these constructions and their fictional and yet reality-based status, each step in the animation seems to require some form of confirmation, and each addition is a form of upgrade of the interactional game that participants have put forward. In the here-and-now of the interaction, changes in gaze and head orientation seem to be doing this pursuit of confirmation and affiliation, and forms of prosodic intensification seem to be adding to the moments where the marking of humour or ridicule is to be made relevant.

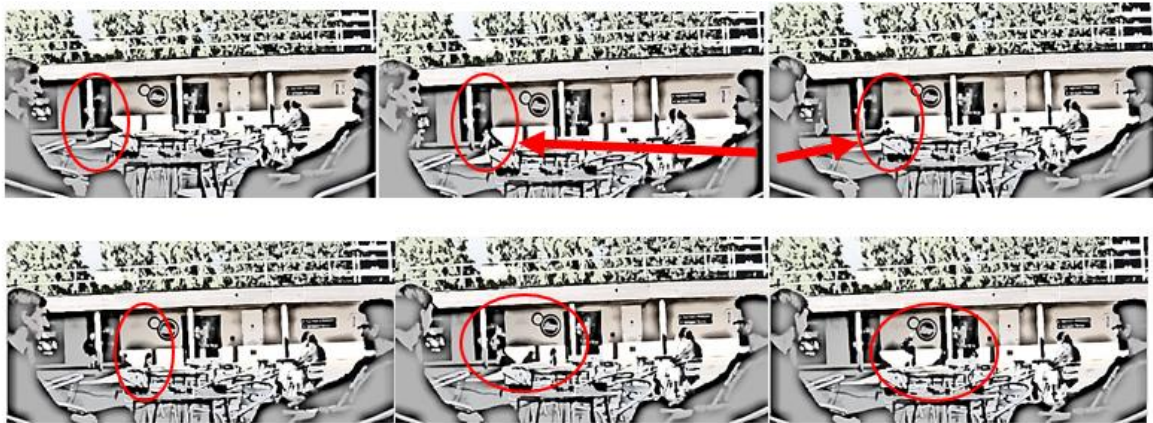
The final example of this chapter (MCY02BAR "Cute baby") also shows the incorporation of an emergent situation -the appearance of a baby-, and this brings about a halt to the progressivity of the narrative in progress, which is explicated with an account ("I'm distracted by the approaching child", line 27). Jon has been telling his friend Dan about an experience at drama camp, and his having to fix a barn for the staging of a show. At this point, Jon is in the middle of his telling, but has encountered a number of hitches in trying to define the arts and crafts centre (lines 11-12), and within this word search, a toddler comes into view and is made the object of joint attention through an assessment ("that's a cute baby", line 19).

Example 7.7 MCY02BAR "Cute Baby" (GAT2 Basic, adapted)

01 JON it was a `literal barn; = like it had `windows? (0.6)
02 DAN a`ha
03 JON but they were just like `o:pen; = just with like `bug nets;
04 DAN h° °h
05 JON because were `right next to a `lake; =
06 =so theres a (shit ton of `bugs) everywhere;
07 DAN [oh] would they just? would the? curtains
08 JON [yeah `yeah]
09 DAN start `blowing; ((click))[(x)]
10 JON [um:]
11 u:h? (0.9) a:ll the `time; they wouldnt `stop.
12 so i was like o`kay; =
13 **=weve gotta `do something about ´this,** °hhh
14 um: so i `went to: (1.33)
15 JON like ou::r (0.4) sort of like (0.4) this (0.7)
16 WOM ↑so:-phie:
17 JON different centre (0.82)
18 WOM [(sophie xx this way)]
19 JON [↓thats a cute `baby;]
20 DAN ((click)) ~a::[w::?]

The baby becomes the object of joint attention, visible from complex patterns of gaze and head/neck direction shifts that accompany Jon's verbal hitches:

Example 7.7 MCY02BAR "Cute Baby" (GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



```

14    um: so i `went to: (1.33)
15 JON like ou::r (0.4) sort of like (0.4) this (0.7)
16 WOM ↑so:-phie:
17 JON different *centre+ (0.7)
    jon          *....-looks @baby>
    dan          +looks @baby>
18 WOM [(sophie xx) this way          ]
19 JON [<<p, wh>>↓thAts a cUte +`BAby; >]
    jon >----->
    dan >-----, , , , , , +looks @Jon
20 DAN ((click)) +`a::[´w::]
    dan          +looks @baby>>

```

The joint attention settled on the baby, both Jon and Dan address the toddler in a lower volume, changing participation frameworks but not really involving the toddler as the volume and the distance would make it improbable that she could hear. Jon asks the toddler to do what the mother is telling her to, but through a different version of it: whereas the woman's call is "come on" (line 24), Jon from his vantage point says "go that way" (line 22), and then "go, run, no!" (line 25).

Example 7.7 MCY02BAR "Cute Baby" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

```

21 WOM [´this `wa:y          ]
22 JON [↑`go that ↓-way (.) `run,]

```

23 DAN [(oh `look at the little `~dr:e:ss)]
 24 WOM [(come `on sophi:e;]
 25 JON **go** **run?** (.) **no::;**
 26 [any]way [↓`anyway] x
 27 WOM ↑so:[-phie:]
 28 [come `o::n?]
 29 DAN `right. so h°? ʔh°`yeah.
 30 JON [im dis [traced by] the aapproach]ling
 ~child(1.1)
 31 DAN [its that its [such a `cute] ^baby; ahahahah mh]
 32 WOM [come o::n]
 33 DAN mh°h°h°h°
 34 (0.8)

Jon orients to the telling attempting resumption (line 26) but next announces his distraction, also as an account for not being able to resume (line 31), referring to the toddler in mock formality as “the approaching child”, and Dan follows with an account on both their behalfs (line 31), recycling Jon’s assessment of the baby as “cute” (from “cute baby”, as in Jon’s first assessment in line 19).

Example 7.7 MCY02BAR "Cute Baby" (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)

26 [^hAny]*way [^hAny*way] x
 jon >-,,,,*lifts RH---*down on leg
 dan +looks @Jon
 27 WOM ↑so:[-phie:]



28 [^hcome 'o::n?]
 29 DAN `RIGHT. so *h°? ʔh°`YEAH.
 jon *looks @baby->>
 30 JON <<p, l>im dis[+~trActed by] the a~pprOach]ing +~CHILD>
 dan +looks @baby +looks @Jon



Jon then introduces a playful remark on the baby's approach to the coffeeshop, ascribing her a desire for coffee (line 35). This pretence is agreed on by Dan (line 36) and with an overlapping and choral "she's like" (lines 37-38) they both in turn introduce their animated/ventriloquised versions of the baby.

Example 7.7 MCY02BAR "Cute Baby" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

35 JON she nEeds her `COffee. (0.6)
 36 DAN she? `yeah= thats whats shes `here fo:r.
 37 [shes li:ke] i `NEED that ~COff[ee,]
 38 JON[shes li::ke?]
 39 [^hno]´mum, (0.3) i need my
 espresso
 40 DAN `yeah.hh°aha
 41 ʔh°a °hhh (i need a) `double; right [^hnow. (yeah)]
 42 WOM [come `o::n -sweetie:]

The simultaneous start is highly synchronised (see figure 7.11 below), and it is remarkable that Jon's playful comment would invite ventriloquism as a response, which the overlapping introduction of the quotative preface reveals:

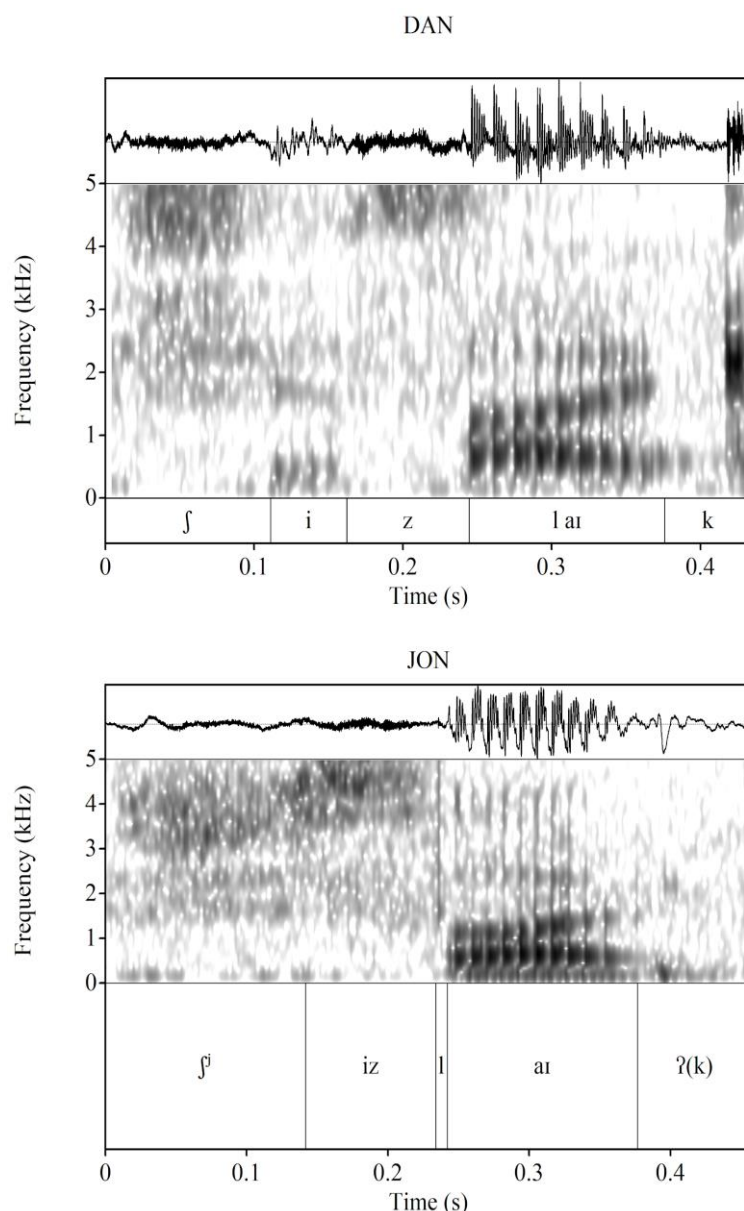


Figure 7.11 Time-aligned versions of Dan (top) and Jon's (bottom) simultaneous start (lines 37-38)

Dan's version invokes the baby making a demand/expressing need for coffee (line 37), turning Jon's remark into an animated version. Jon's ventriloquised version (line 39) addresses the mother by referring to the baby's refusal to go where the mother is ("no, mum", line 39) and then recycles "I need", but produces a hyponym of "coffee" (line

37) > “espresso” (line 39). This is appreciated through confirmation and laughter by Dan, who recycles “I need” but upgrades the animated content with a competing version by using another specific hyponym of coffee (“double”, line 41) and with a marker of urgency (“right now”). This is followed by a pre-empting “yeah” (line 41). Both co-productions present mutual gaze aversion, gazing instead towards the baby and the return of gaze to the recipient in the here-and-now towards the end of each animated contribution.

Example 7.7 MCY02BAR “Cute Baby” (continued; GAT2 Fine, adapted; MMT)



37 DAN [shes li:ke] i *`NEED that +`COff[ee,]
 38 JON [shes li::ke?]
 jon *looks away towards baby-->

39 [<<pressed, l, growly>`NO]+`mUm, (0.2) i nEed my es+PRE*SSo>
 dan >-----+self-grooms-----+looks @Jon->
 jon *looks@Dan

40 DAN `YEAH.hh°a+ha
 dan +looks away

41 ?h°a°hhh<<acc,p,l,cr>(i nEed a)>+`DOUBle;
rIght [+`NOW.>>]
 dan +looks@Jon-----+looks away

As the transcripts above and figure 7.12 show Dan’s version of the toddler’s voice is highly creaky and low in his register, below his midline. Jon’s version is upgraded prosodically, as it is higher in pitch (in absolute terms and relative to his own midline), and the creakiness has a growling quality. Dan’s second animation, the lexically upgraded version, keeps the lower pitch and creaky quality, but turns into creaky and

lowers its volume towards the end, therefore, not heard to be upgrading his contribution prosodically.

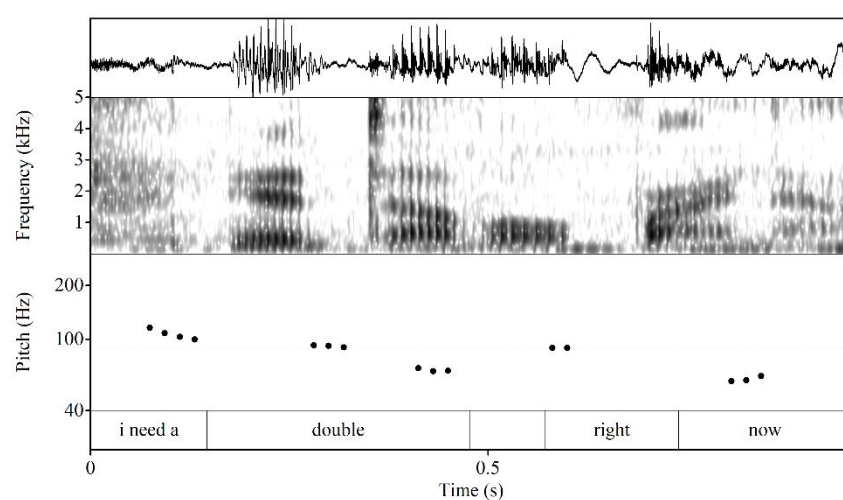
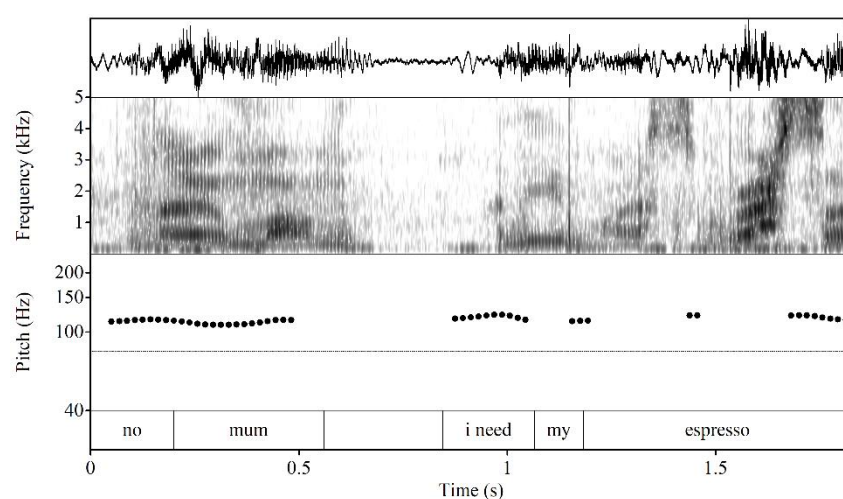
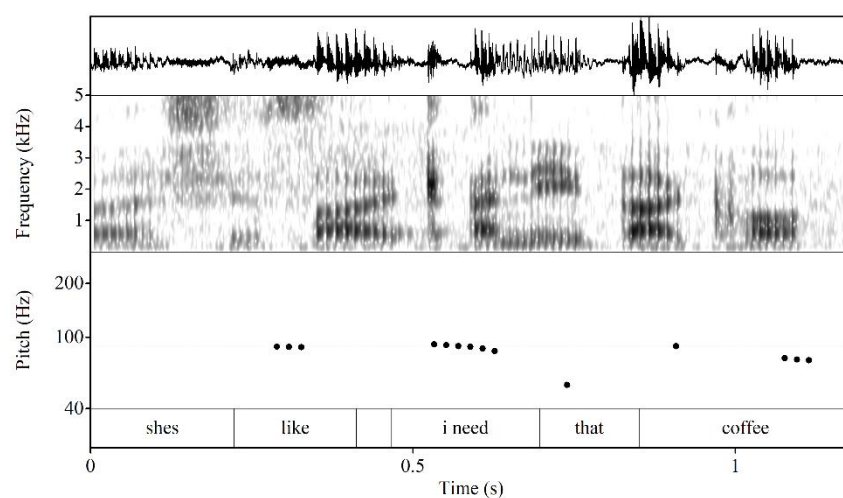


Figure 7.12 Spectrograms showing creakiness and f0 traces (Hz log, scaled to speakers' ranges) of three co-animated turns (Top: line 37; Centre: line 39; Bottom: line 41).

This resumption is interrupted again as the mother is getting closer and points at the coffeeshop being closed (line 43), and Jon answering to the announcement as if it had been addressed to him, but still with a volume level that would make the remark unheardable to the mother (line 45-46). As the conversation between the mother and the baby unfolds on the side, Dan is found to be providing a live commentary (a form of free indirect style) of what may be the baby's walk away from the café (away from the angle of the video): "trudge the struggle of my no-coffee life right now" (lines 46, 49, 50), in an incremental manner, interspersed manner around the mother's soothing words to the baby.

Example 7.7 MCY02BAR "Cute Baby" (continued; GAT2 Basic, adapted)

43 WOM [see] the coffees [^closed]
44 JON [((click))↑ ^u::m] [bu? `yeah.] a°h ?h°a
45 WOM no [`coffee] right `now
46 JON [`is it?]
47 oh it `is. ha:
48 WOM `lets ~go (0.6)
49 we ll come tomorrow `morning [o´kay?]
50 DAN [(^tru:dge:)]
51 WOM `come come come:
52 DAN ↓the `struggle,
53 of my ↓no coffee `life [right now.]
54 WOM [should we get a `coffee]
55 to`morrow morning [o´kay?]
56 JON [so `yeah] i was like? [o`kay like?]
57 WOM [↑↑ ^come -o:n]
58 JON `hi guys; (0.4)
59 [like it was (literally) some s]ort of arts and ~crafts
60 WOM [`come -sweetie:]

61 JON [centre (at ↓'camp,)]
62 [lets go and see `daddy]

Jon resumes his telling with no acknowledgement or appreciation of the final animation, a sort of po-faced response. The “interrupting” event has been used for a moment of shared play and live commentary, and the attention is now driven to the original activity at work.

The fictionalisation in this case is a form of ventriloquism of the baby’s demands to the mother, a sort of running commentary of the situation they are experiencing, ascribing a stance to the baby and slowly exiting the fictionalisation into the return to the narrative at hand (first attempt at line 29, later resumption at line 56).

These cases have illustrated joint fantasising based on the incorporation of external objects or people at moments where the progressivity of the talk appears to be halted or delayed. Instead of straightforwardly repairing these issues, co-participants drive their joint attention to these objects and turn them into moments of shared play, where co-animation takes a privileged role in the construction of absurdity and incongruence with reality. Once each contribution has been validated through shared laughter or agreement tokens, and upgraded by a co-participant -which may result in extended sequences of talk-, topics are closed or tellings are resumed.

7.5 Co-animations and association in teasing and mockery activities: complicity and morality

These last two chapters have analysed the different activities and social actions associated with co-animations and their relational implications around moral issues that emerge in interaction. This chapter has shown how emergent contingencies can

be exploited playfully to repair an interactional/sequential, self-presentation, or relational issue. This results in a moment of shared laughter and shared joy at the developing creative endeavour.

When these co-animations are used as a resource for teasing, it was noted that the effect of the co-animated tease is to orient to self-presentation issues that need to be addressed as a result of an error of acceptability, an instance of face-damaging self-disclosure, or display of embarrassment. They sequentially override the transgression and provide an opportunity to “set the record straight” (Drew, 1987) by establishing a form of absurd contrast with the reality of what should or shouldn’t be.

Given the “safeguarding” that playfully presenting a particular stance in the animation space and not as rooted in the here-and-now offers, there are still a few relational issues that need to be managed when teasing is done.

Self-initiated teases provide safer ground for co-participants to continue the tease and join in to laugh at and with. Other-initiated teases, on the other hand, constitute a moral and interactional risk, as they might be face-threatening. A response through laughter by a co-participant indexes appreciation, and their playing along transforms this into a laughing *with*. However, responsive animations may reveal how the target of the tease may treat this as an opportunity for an entitlement redress to establish the tease in their own terms.

Both of these forms of co-animated teasing share with joint fictionalisations in general the one-upmanship incremental development of the contributions by co-participants, a general state of upgrading /escalation/further specification through reformulations and extensions (see Chapter 5).

Apart from teasing, joint fictionalisations emerge as the result of an external stimulus or interactional contingency that co-participants incorporate into their current interaction, making it the object of joint attention. This co-animation is just an opportunity for complicity in play, a creative endeavour, that unblocks any halt/delay in progressivity and enables resumption, or progress into the next order of business.

The presence of laughter and verbal or non-verbal markers of acceptance and agreement in every step of the fictionalisation, acting as a form of validation of the creative contributions incrementally presented, seem to also be a way of making sure that the values they are enacting implicitly or explicitly as a collectivity in the joint product still represent all members of the collectivity. Through the quickly-paced, incrementally-presented creations, co-participants also negotiate how far they can take these fantasies and for how long to extend this moment of shared play, as well as jointly defining what constitutes something amusing through their accepting, appreciating, or rejecting responses.

The resulting fictions are mostly co-owned and celebrated. Because they constitute depictions, the moral issues involved are not voiced explicitly, but the contrast established between a state of affairs that is treated as correct, and one that isn't, through co-animating one of these in an absurd way shows how shared values are enacted. The jointly-adopted stance and mutual laughter index solidarity and association around these issues, in ways that co-participants may self-aggregate to someone's "shame", co-experiencing it, and providing a "way out" of it, interactionally. In a way, these jointly co-animated fictionalisations incorporate any extraordinary events in the here-and-now into a joint product where co-participants can project their shared values and their joint sense of what makes for a humorous take on an "incident".

8. Co-animation and Association: jointly “doing being” others to interactionally define joint selves

8.1 Summary of research aims and thesis organisation

This thesis began with the observation that frequently in interaction, more than one participant can be an incumbent to a party. We described practices participants deploy to act as representatives of, or to self-aggregate to, organisational, relational, or circumstantial collectivities. We then moved on to discuss how speaking on behalf of others could be deeply related to the practices in which participants are seen to be jointly “doing being” others. By defining and analysing the practice of “co-animation”, this work sought to address these questions:

- a) how and where co-participants deploy “doing being” the same voice as a practice (i.e. co-animation);
- b) how co-participants achieve hearably/visibly “doing being” the same voice;
- c) what co-participants are seen to do by co-animation; and
- d) whether this joint enactment of voices contributes to a momentary constitution of a single co-inhabited identity (a collectivity) in interaction, and if so, how.

Chapter 2 reviewed prior work to establish some of the key features of animation as a complex and laminated practice, one that through deictic and reality displacement enables the animator to playfully and in a non-serious (à la Goffman) manner introduce other voices into the here-and-now. Animation allows participants to disclaim responsibility for the actions of others thereby (re-)enacted, while providing the co-

participant with access to and evidence of that distal scene as it is presented, creating a sense of immediacy and detachment from the here-and-now. At the same time, animation is a practice that through this selective and creative transposition of another real or imagined situation of enunciation into the here-and-now, and the overlaying of a stance, establishes a form of evaluative conversation with the animated material, and in turn, makes a form of evaluation relevant from the co-participant. It is these features that make animation an "interactional object" that can be manipulated by speakers for interactional ends.

Chapter 2 also discussed those studies acting as antecedents to the current research, and highlighted that our data, unlike other studies, present unelicited storytelling and are mostly dyadic, which creates two interesting consequences for co-animation that co-participants manage in the collection: a) most tellings present epistemic access or entitlement differentials between the two speakers; b) there is no third present party to address the co-production to, in the case of association. The invisibility of the parties and positions that co-animation will be making relevant is one of the issues that will strengthen our claim that co-animation is an associative practice.

Chapter 3 thoroughly reviewed the methodological and theoretical decisions, principles, and tools applied for the interactional and multimodal study of the 89 cases of responsive co-animation considered for this thesis.

Chapters 4 and 5 have defined the positional and design features of these responsive animations to also encompass issues of agency and epistemics, whereas Chapters 6 and 7 have defined specific interactional activities in which they are occasioned, to then focus on some social-relational actions embodied by the deployment of these practices, particularly around epistemics and morality. These four analytic chapters

have provided a comprehensive and complex picture of the collection of associative responsive animations in the 10 hours of data scrutinised.

This final chapter will revisit some of the main findings of this research and discuss some implications for future conversation-analytic and interactional linguistic studies.

8.2 Co-animation and the jointly-organised management of the animation space

8.2.1 The organisation of the co-animation sequence

This research set out to describe, in all its multimodal features, a practice that had rarely been analysed in such detail before: *responsive co-animation*. Co-animation emerges from the interactional deployment of the (re-)enactment of a figure not associated with the participation frameworks in the here-and-now, in second position in a responsive slot, that results in sequences of *co-animation*, the joint (re)enactment of the same voice, anchored in the interactionally defined there-and-then. A co-animation sequence, as defined by the data, involves:

- a) a deployment of animation by A towards the turn's end that opens (and potentially moves towards the closing of) the animation space;
- b) a B-continued/completed animation in second position that (re-)opens the animation space;
- c) an animated voice in the B-animation that is ascribable to the figure in A's prior animation;
- d) (optional, but highly frequent) a slot for confirmation/rejection/expansion/embedded correction of the prior animation through which the animation space is exited.

Positionally, co-animations appear in slots that are treated as responsive, either pre-emptively or post-completion, and tend to create a slot in third position for confirmation. A table schematising the organisation of the slots in these co-animation sequences, showing how the animation space is opened, sustained, and closed, appears below:

A:	First animation		Opening of animation space
	Projection of an imminent upcoming transition-relevance place OR	Transition-relevance place reached	
	((affiliative response made conditionally relevant by ongoing action))		
B:	((possible canonical response by B in overlap: <i>laughter, yeah, mm, hm</i>))		((fleeting exit))
	((adjacently in juncture space or in overlap)) B-completions of the animation	((adjacently or post-gap)) B-continuations of the animation	Maintenance of animation space open
	Pre-completion animation	Post-completion animation	
	((makes confirmation/rejection relevant))		
A/B:	((possible extension of the co-animation sequence))		
A:	Confirming and agreeing answer: <i>yeah, exactly</i> , laughter AND/OR Embedded correction Progressivity onto the next stage of the ongoing activity Shift into new topic		Exit from the animation space

Table 8.1 Systematisation of the co-animated sequence and the opening/maintenance/closing of the animation space.

It was found that co-animation sequences are highly organised, with orderly procedures and format-tying practices that enable participants to index the opening, maintenance, and closing of the animation space, concurrently managing the “there-and-then” and the “here-and-now”.

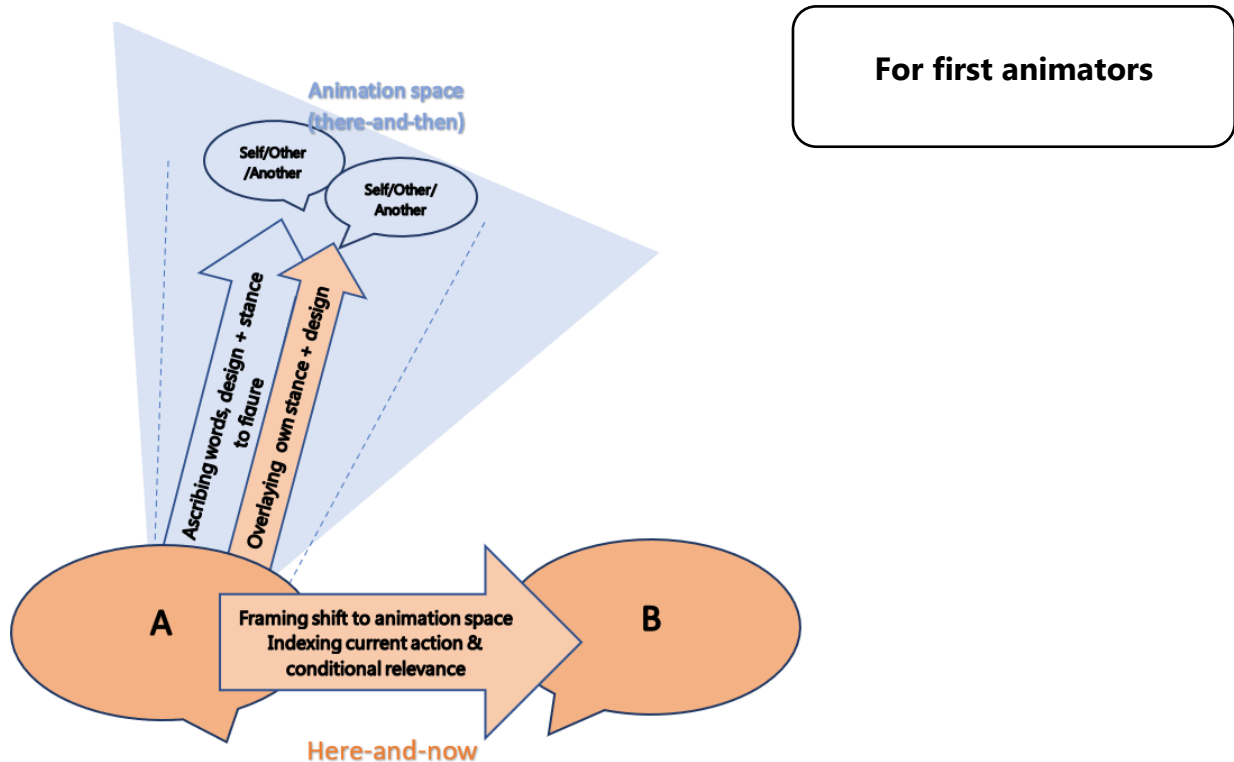
It was established that responding to an animation through the completion/continuation of the first animation is a highly recurrent practice, and an organised form of response that stands in contrast to other possible forms of responses in the development of the activities and positions where the animation is generally deployed, including agreement tokens, assessments, response cries, or second stories. In this respect, our findings concur with those of Niemelä (2011) for storytelling in multiparty conversation. The current analysis adds to this by confirming that similar organisational features appear in dyadic interaction, and even when participants are not in a symmetrical epistemic status regarding access or entitlement, by the creation of other parties that are invoked and addressed and often opposed. What is more, it was found that the kinds of specific social actions responsive animations carry out are highly activity-dependent, but that they are all concerned with an orientation to affiliation and morality, as Chapters 6 and 7 revealed.

8.2.2 Participant problems in the deployment of (co-)animation

Co-participants are then found to open, sustain, and close what we have called the “animation space” (cfr. Niemelä’s “reporting space”), an interactional space where the there-and-then of animation content and the here-and-now of the ongoing course of action meet, one whose boundaries are fuzzily delimited by a combination of differently-aligned multimodal resources, and which turns the animation into an interactional object open to manipulation. Responsive co-animation was identified as

a practice by which co-participants keep the animation space open after A has closed it, or projected its closure.

This concurrent management of the here-and-now and the there-and-now that the deployment of (co-)animation poses creates a number of interactional demands for both A and B, as Chapter 4 explained. We established that A should frame the shift to animation and simultaneously project the relevance of its deployment as a stance is overlaid. We focused on B's interactional "duty" of making their contribution hearable as a completion/continuation of A's animation, while orienting to the conditional relevance set in A's prior turn. These participant problems of (co-)animation are summarised in figure 8.1 below:



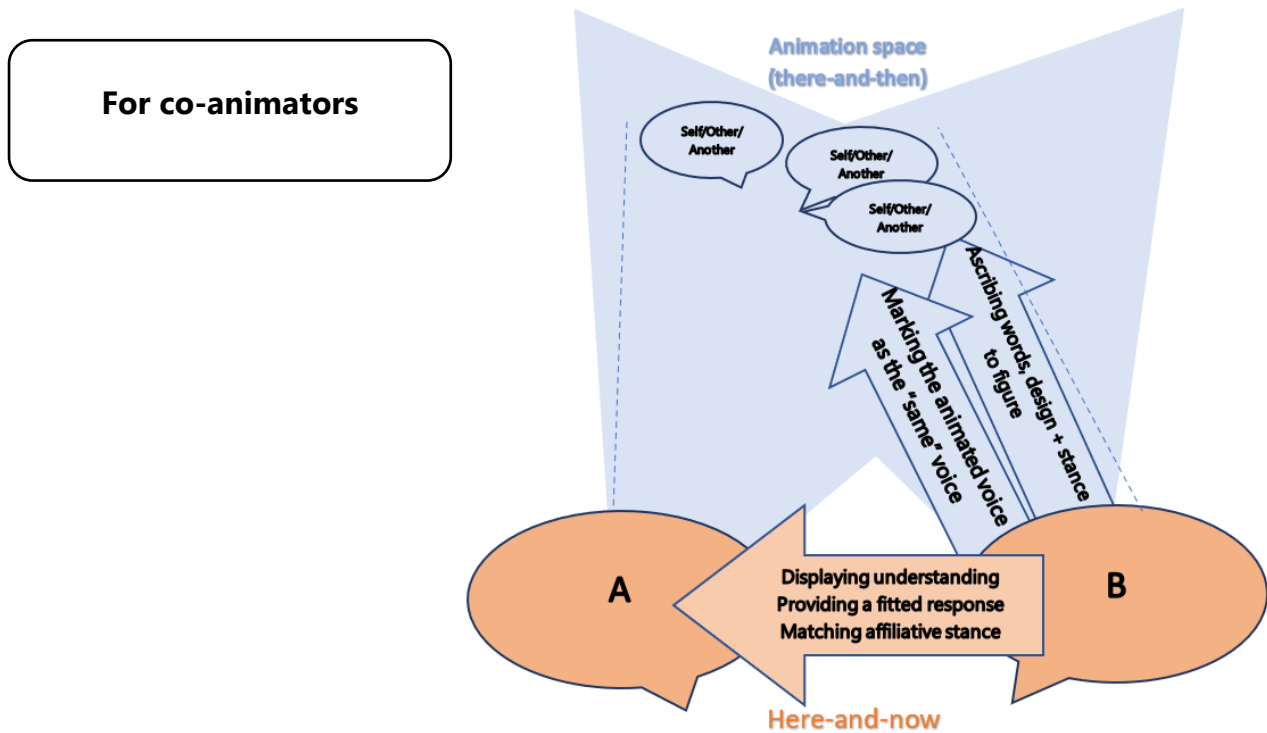


Figure 8.1 Interactional demands and problems around animation and co-animation (See Chapter 4)

It was shown how these interactional demands are oriented to by co-participants in different ways through positioning and design, and in activity-dependent ways that will be reviewed in the next sections.

This chapter also made the point that in this collection, the voices animated are more frequently of a displaced Self or Another (i.e. an absent or non-ratified/distant third party), and that the voice of B is less frequently animated outside of Other-initiated teasing episodes. This reflects the nature of animation as a practice that invokes spaces and participants that are not part of the here-and-now, or engages in a form of "othering" of those who are. It has been shown how this is also consequential for dyadic interaction, in that absent figures are brought into the here-and-now, changing participation frameworks momentarily in a way that enables co-participants to team up against these absent parties.

8.2.3 Opening the animation space and managing stance and conditional relevance

Chapter 4 has defined the phenomenon of co-animation by exploring how in this collection speakers mark the shift into a new interactional animated space through lexico-grammatical, prosodic, and postural-gestural resources. That chapter has shown that co-participants are seen to rely on more than a single resource to mark the shift into the animation space and do “quoting/enacting”, and that verbal and non-verbal resources are not necessarily aligned, and have different temporal domains.

It was made clear that whereas quotative prefaces may be found in first-animations, B-animated turns do not generally make use of such elements, retrospectively rendering the first quotative preface as incorporating the co-animation into its domain as well, and thus keeping the contiguity between turns. This orientation to keeping the co-animations together can also be traced in the fact that when more canonical responses are offered, they happen in overlap during the first animation or post-animation, leaving the response co-animation in the clear (see sections 4.4.2 and 4.5.2). The permeability of the animation space was found to be, in part, due to the relaxation of any claims to authenticity that the overwhelming frequency of “(be) like” and also zero quotative prefaces index, providing a “safer” space for incipient K- co-animators.

Prosodic and gestural, postural, and gaze shifts operate in different ways across the collection for the contextualisation of the entry into the animation space with the relevant stance ascription to the figures animated on the one hand, and the concurrent projection of stance and conditional relevance in the here-and-now on the other. Whereas gaze aversion appears to be a frequent marker of animation endings and the activation of conditional relevance, noticeable prosodic and gestural-postural shifts, when present, have been found to foreground upcoming animations, showing clear

preparation stages before the animated content was voiced, while also managing the stance-projecting features of the here-and-now. Figure 8.2 below summarises the resources found to contextualise the move into the animation space while simultaneously orienting to the stance and the course of action in the here-and-now

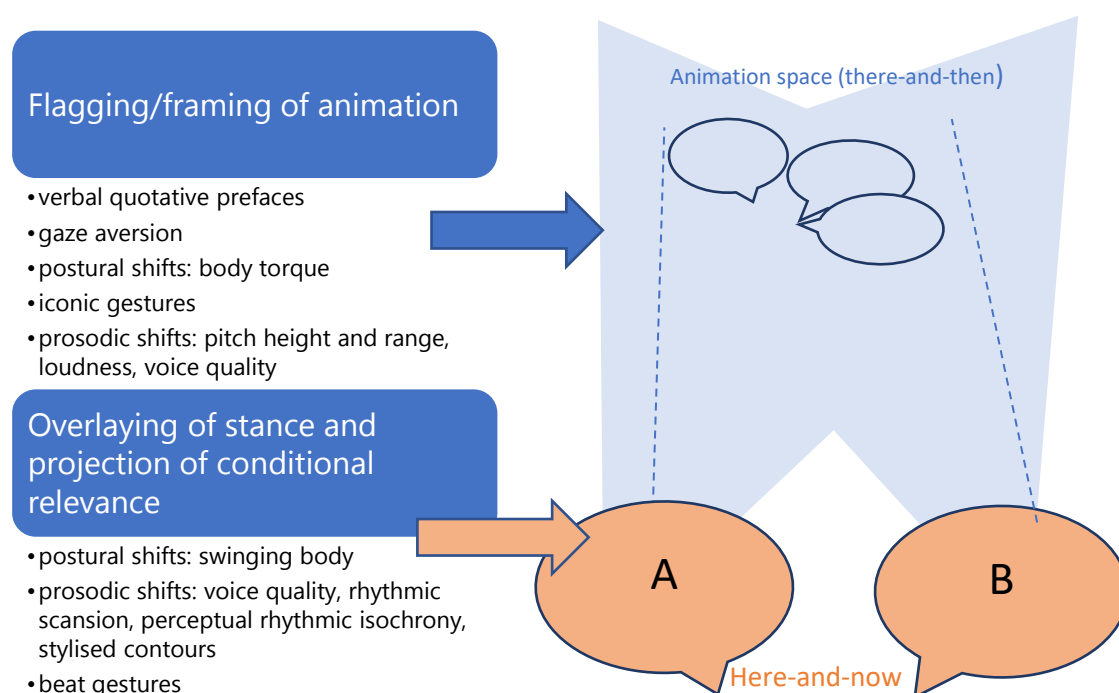


Figure 8.2 Use of resources by first animators for the concurrent management of the here-and-now and the there-and-then

Bundles of non-modal vocal and non-vocal resources appear to have clustered more frequently in teasing and joint fictionalisations, in the animation of a Self-teased Self, as well as in the contextualisation of the transgressor in complaints, places where contrasts between figures and perspectives, ways of Othering and displaying “what we are not” are contextualised.

8.2.4 Unquoting and orienting to co-animated responses

Chapter 4 also unveiled the ways in which the animation space is closed by siding with Bolden's (2004) finding that animation-contextualising features, particularly prosody and gesture, tend to "fade away" before the verbal material of the animation is complete, seeming to point at the fact that whereas marking animation beginnings appears to be the norm to facilitate for a co-participant issues of authorship and stance attribution, the fading out of the embodied features of animation may also matter inasmuch it activates the return to conditional relevance in the here-and-now, and they are in fact turn-final anyway in our collection. Given the interplay of the planes of the here-and-now and the there-and-then in the animation space, it makes sense that imminent response slots and conditional relevance are projected by the gradual loosening of animation-framing resources towards the end of the turn, flagging upcoming transition-relevance places, enabling co-participants to monitor possible parts where the affiliative response is due.

This chapter also determined a number of possible third-position orientations to these animations, most of which are forms of agreement, acceptance, and appreciation of the co-animation, laughter and "yeah" being the most frequent responses. In co-animations, first animators appear to overwhelmingly celebrate and/or accept co-animated responses, with some cases where the co-animation sequence is extended, and a very small number of cases where there are what could be seen as "embedded corrections" or epistemic differential redresses, where first animations produce a new version of the co-animated turn that leaves that one "on record" after some possibly miscalculation by the prior co-animation. Some ambiguity remains around those co-animations that lead on to next topics/stages of the activity at hand but seem to go unacknowledged. Whereas these appear to have promoted progressivity, the lack of acknowledgment by the first animator at times appears to address an entitlement

differential, with the original animator taking back the reins of the ongoing activity. More evidence from similar cases is needed for these cases to be made sense of further.

8.3 The positionally-sensitive design features and the building of coherence in responsive co-animations

Unlike previous research focusing on the resources employed by first animators in spontaneous talk, chapter 5 focused on a less widely-studied issue: how co-participants make their contributions hearable as *co*-animations of the same figure. It provided evidence of how resources are coordinated and recycled by co-participants who through their resonant and also independent contributions orient to previous animations, and use design to manage agentive and epistemic entitlement and access differentials, particularly the concern with “territorial preserves” that co-participants manage through mutual adjustment. It was found that the organisation and deployment of these resources were highly **positionally-sensitive**, that is, dependent on where the responsive co-animation onset was relative to a first animation.

In terms of initiation and position, the responsive co-animations in this collection have been found to occur as: a) a B-completion of an ongoing animation by A; b) a B-continuation of an A-initiated animation in the immediately adjacent turn or later in the same or next sequence (contiguous or recycled co-animations, respectively), or c) a B-initiation of the animation of un-animated content of A’s turn (adjunct animations). Only a) and b) have been considered for this study, with c) kept for contrastive analysis and validation. However, these adjunct animations (c) reveal interesting things about animation as a responsive practice, and will thus be studied in more detail in future work.

Figure 8.3 shows a schematic representation of possible B-incomings during a first animation by A in responsive co-animations that complete or continue the first animation.

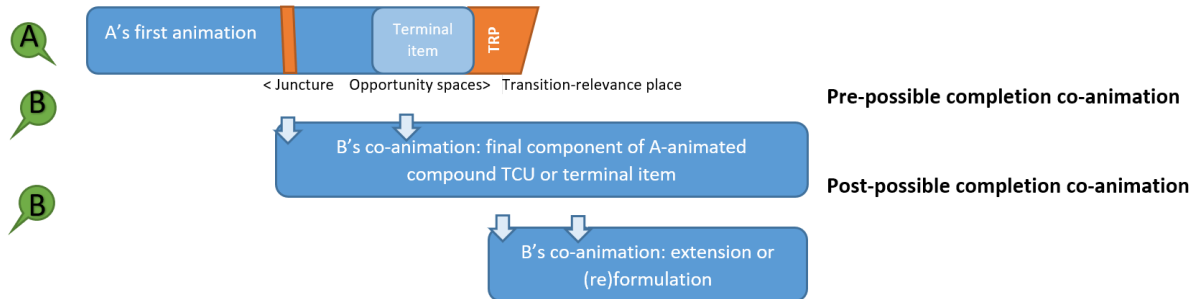


Figure 8.3 Responsive co-animation onset positioning relative to first animation.

The relational, epistemic and agentive affordances of the different positional configurations in which these B-animations can be initiated are closely related to the potential of miscalculating the projected factual content or stance, as well as the perceived entitlement and alignment issues in co-opting the role of the “ongoing activity leader”. It was determined that it is less of an interactional risk to provide a responsive animation at post-completion after a prior animation, given the shared epistemic access, than it is to do so pre-emptively - which may also account for the lower frequency of the latter.

Pre-emptive completions as co-animations are oriented to as most successful in terms of temporal “fusion” of voices and most widely “celebrated” by co-participants in third position through mutual laughter or mutual smiling and gaze, and this results from A’s turn being contextualised by highly projective practices that build on prior jointly-built epistemic grounding which minimise the always-existing risk of “getting it wrong”. The creation of contrasts and implications traceable to earlier in talk and the topicalisation and flagging of issues which are part of the common ground but are evoked, as well as a multimodal packaging involving perceptually isochronous rhythm in some cases

and patterns of pitch declination, create slots for projectability and reveal mutual monitoring of “opportunity spaces” where B can complete an ongoing animation.

Co-animated B completions, happening as anticipatory completions or choral productions, present prosodic and gestural processes of integration, continuation, and temporal synchronisation, in ways that orient to the ongoing design of first animations and the epistemic grounding constructed. Temporal issues were also found to be adjusted for the management of any entitlement issues, with more entitled co-participants “outlasting” the co-animators in choral productions, for example.

Post-possible-completion co-animators, on the other hand, come with the advantage of having full access to an already formulated stance and content, and the affiliation-relevant slot can be filled with something that may orient to both in a safer way, should the co-participant wish to affiliate.

It is most frequently the case that the orientations happen through lexico-grammatical processes of (re)formulation and extension of prior animations. Prosodically and in gestural terms, post-completion co-animations orient to first animations through processes of integration, upgrading, or matching. In other words, co-participants have been found to make new but related versions of previous animations, unpacking implicit content, adding an account or a list item, upgrading aspects of the first animation, or summarising the implications of the state of affairs thus far, and indexing these actions as coherent with the just-completed animation through their gestural-postural and prosodic design. It is also interesting to see how the independently-incorporated design elements in these B-animated continuations may, in turn, be picked up by the initial animators to extend the co-animated sequence, providing further evidence of how these are emergent co-productions that are co-owned.

Table 8.2 below shows some of the findings around how co-animations are presented as coherent with first animations in terms of the resources deployed:

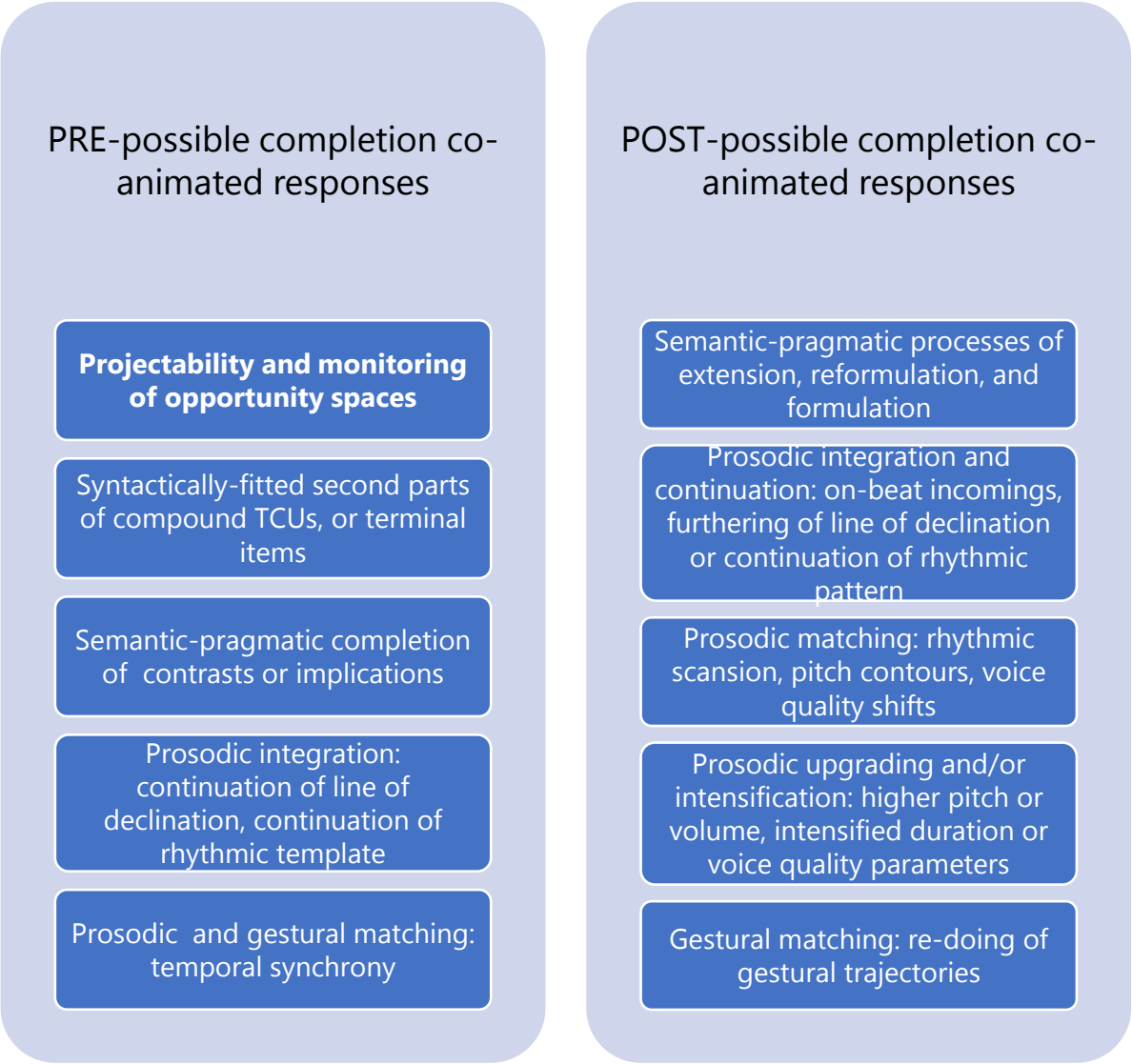


Table 8.2 Processes of lexico-grammatical, prosodic and gestural orientation to the design of first animations.

8.4 Co-animation and association in situated activities

A second major guiding question for this research was whether these responsive animations contributed to the interactional creation of “unitness” or “we-ness”, in other words, of association, a kind of social reward for being “of the same mind”, as it

were. We explained that these forms of “fusion” or “distributed agency” (Enfield, 2017) involve co-participants speaking on behalf of A, or on behalf of a collectivity that includes A+B which are the two configurations defined in this thesis as forms of association. In the there-and-then of the animation space, these contributions are part of the same animated voice, a voice that shares a number of features that are congruent with a shared stance by the animating participants. In the here-and-now of the interaction, the very involvement in co-animation appears to orient to the dual relevance for intersubjective demonstration of understanding and the affiliation made relevant in specific courses of action at particular points in the development of interactional activities.

It was then found that the introduction of co-animation responds to the contingencies of the wider interactional activities in progress, where first animations make evaluative and moral concerns relevant and mobilise matching forms of evaluation and joint attention to sanctionable matters.

Chapter 6 studied co-animations in troubles-tellings and indirect complaint stories, which involve the delicate management of moral issues. Troubles-tellers and complainers sequentially deal with the need for legitimacy, fairness, and validation of their described victim status through sequential organisation. It was found that first animations appear as resources in the core stage in the development of these activities, at a safe point in which the trouble/complainable has been topicalised, the terms negotiated, and an affiliative response (however minimal) has been secured. These first animations are produced at points of escalation in the telling of a trouble or complaint, and even though they may involve complaineen enactments, they mostly invariably involve the teller’s Self-animated reaction (as speech or thought) with an ambiguous deictic anchoring and with no clear indication of its having been uttered in the situation (re)enacted or not. It is this animation of A’s persona reflecting on or

reacting to the trouble retold that gives access to the co-participant of the projected stance, with a design that provides great granularity and vividness which, in turn, makes an empathic response relevant and compelling in the here-and-now. In other words, in this collection, it is A's animation of aggrieved Self that mobilises the affiliative response, and not, like in previous studies (e.g. Drew, 1998), the voice of the transgressor.

The study of co-animation for this activity has revealed that providing a co-animated answer stands in competition with other forms of empathic responses in the continuum identified by Heritage (2011). It has been discovered that responsive animations act as "into-the-moment" empathic responses, but instead of fitting in within Heritage's category of "witness" responses that describe the scene retold as an observer, the use of co-animation by B is a way to position themselves as a co-experiencer or as a co-victim. This results in a true and explicit "empathetic insertion" (Goffman, 1974), which at the same time, acts as a form of endorsement of the fairness of the complaint. The interactional and empathetic achievement of co-animation is warranted by the evidential and vividness features of animation that bring the trouble or transgressor to life in the here and now, and the fact that the response slots are contiguous not to the animation of the transgression, but to that of the affected participant and their stance, making this a safer space that spares a co-participant from having to "deal" with or explicitly assess the transgressor, but address the co-participants' animated feelings or thoughts instead after the evidence provided.

Chapter 7 covered two separate but closely-related kinds of activities: Self- or Other-teasing, and playful fictionalisations/fantasies and ventriloquism, both forms of joint fictionalisation that reveal different orientations to "reality".

Co-animation was found to be a resource to do teasing, and both related practices are occasioned by a moment of possible face-sensitivity, including errors of acceptability, episodes of Self-disclosure, or Self/Other-deprecation. Co-animated teases "set the record straight" by elevating the moral transgression to a high level of ridicule, and this involves contributions by both participants co-creating a fiction with the voice initially ascribable to A now becoming a jointly constructed persona with a jointly defined set of features. As a result, B is also seen to be playfully sharing in the "embarrassment" of the transgression. Shared moral values are negotiated as the absurdity of the playful animation of the transgression sequentially overrides the real transgression, jointly contributing to a co-participant's repair of face. The transgression becomes an interactional object that is jointly manipulated and interactionally opposed.

Joint fantasies come as forms of ventriloquism or fictional scenarios constructed from elements incorporated from the context of interaction that have halted or delayed the progressivity of talk. The contributions are incremental, subject to each other's approval, and are generally done as forms of independent but format-tied one-upmanship that extend through various turns-at-talk. Co-participants are complicitly giving each other an "out" from these progressivity-threatening situations by creating a shared voice that incorporates elements of the shared here-and-now, and of their collective creative processes. These co-animations both address the progressivity-blocking contingencies and create a space for shared joy in play. In these cases, the resulting jointly composed product, through what may look like individual contributions, retrospectively allows for shared ownership and enhances levels of displayed intimacy, creating a moment of shared complicity around what is negotiated as a jointly-acceptable "laughable".

These two chapters have then provided evidence that co-animations index forms of affiliation in the face of different kinds of trouble where moral issues are relevant for participants. Whether it is seeking approval that a certain issue is a legitimate complainable/trouble, or seeking support in the face of a face-sensitive, delicate self-presentation issue, first animations create opportunities for respondents to deploy the same kind of interactional resource to speak on each other's behalf and become, for a moment, the same "party" against an absent second party or position that has been somehow materialised and brought to the here-and-now through interaction.

8.5 Concluding remarks: Co-animation as a resource for association

Co-productions abound in everyday spontaneous talk. Animation, understood as a participant acting as a "sounding box" for another voice, is a defining (though perhaps covert) feature of other forms of co-productions, such as choral productions, or anticipatory completions, as the studies reviewed in Chapter 1 have acknowledged. These co-productions had already been described as one possible locus where participants can display association, their speaking on behalf of each other as representatives or members of a collectivity.

Co-animation, where the deictic displacement is explicit, has been found to be perhaps an even more 'extreme' form of human fusion in talk, where participants are seen to be actively working on jointly 'doing being' each other/another, and turning the co-animation into an object of joint attention, manipulation, and celebration in the here-and-now. The detachment features associated with enactment/quoting enable these productions to become interactional objects that co-participants can "play with", and at the same time, build scenarios where absent or hypothetical positions or parties can be evaluated, even opposed.

Through a very detailed scrutiny of all the sequential and embodied resources of co-animation sequences embedded in specific social activities, this research has shown that co-animation can be used as a resource for the creation of momentary joint units of participation.

The analysis of the collection has shown how co-participants are actively engaging with their co-participants' prior turns, providing affiliative responses through independent but resonant contributions that contribute to the co-ownership of these animations. The co-creation of shared voices and the use of verbal and non-verbal resources provides yet another piece of evidence that language is constituted in interaction and that linguistic structures are not a single speaker's phenomenon. Through the interplay of all these shared and individual resources around the animations, B is found to be doing being the voice that A has been doing being, thus fusing with their co-participant by speaking on behalf of A and self-aggregating to their positioning, or on behalf of A+B as a collectivity, against a jointly sanctioned position or party.

One of the contrasts between our work and prior research is that the data studied are mostly dyadic and unelicited. This has enabled the revelation of co-animation and shared stance displays in contexts where B, the co-animating participant, does not always have equal epistemic access or rights to the (re)enacted experience. Our analysis has demonstrated that epistemic access and projected affective stances are built earlier on in the interaction, creating projectability and "safe spaces" before the animation comes or makes a response relevant, facilitating the emergence of co-animation as a matching affiliative response in stance and degree. Should there be any outstanding epistemic entitlement issues arising from the co-animation, these are often managed through the continuation of co-animation, with the first animation

leaving a new animation “on record” that sequentially deletes the last one, thus not anchoring the embedded correction in the “here-and-now”, and rather, in some way doing a syntactically unmarked form of “colligation” (Jefferson 1986a/2017), foregrounding affiliation.

But more importantly, this study of co-animation in dyadic interaction has revealed that absent parties can be invoked and brought to the here-and-now of the interaction to create opportunities for association when there are no *visible* participants to associate towards or against. It shows how other voices and even other positions can be made relevant through animation, turned into an object of joint interactional scrutiny, and be jointly rejected, sanctioned, or praised as a team around shared moral values or concerns. This matches the findings by Günthner (2007) around reported speech and the construction of alterity: “the portrayal of the other becomes the antithesis of the definition of self: it is that which separates us from the other that helps us construe on our own self.”(p.436).

By analysing the position and composition of co-animation and their deployment in specific activities, it has been shown how co-animations serve to go “in excess” of affiliation to create momentary units of participation, of “we-ness” in the construction of a single voice which encompasses shared values and identities. By *enacting* what is shared rather than voicing or formulating it and embedding what is shared as a form of contrast to what is being animated and jointly sanctioned, co-participants demonstrate understanding, and celebrate their momentary fusion around an absent third party or around values that are seen to be common to the co-participants involved.

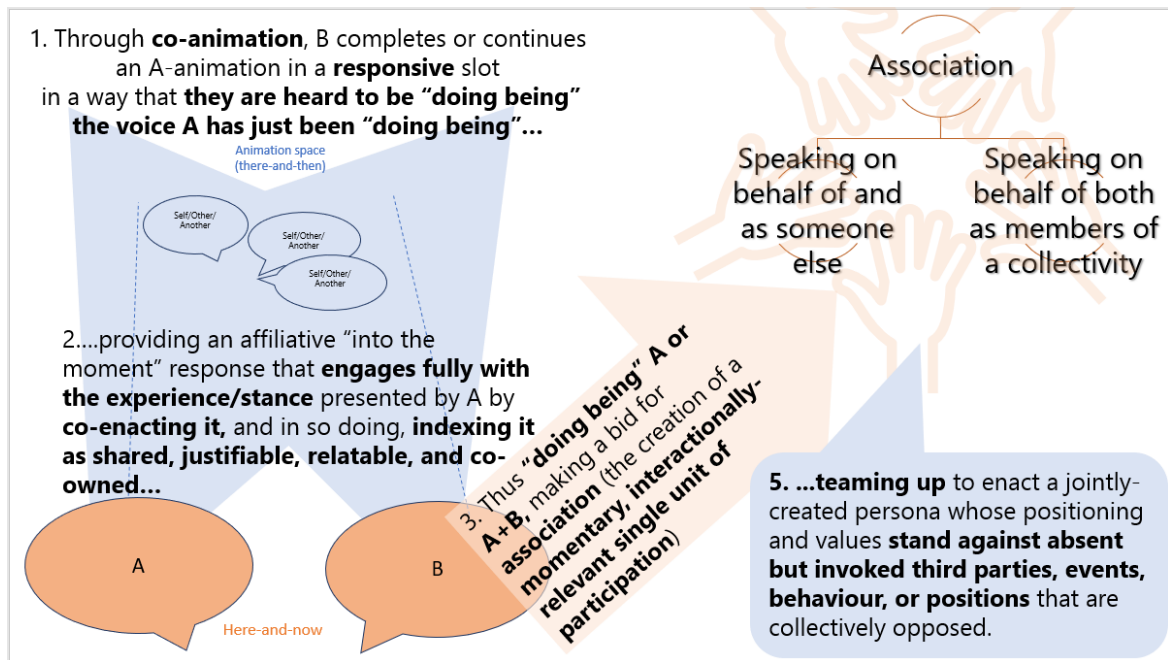


Figure 8.4 Schematic representation of main conclusions

This thesis -whose main findings are summarised in figure 8.4 above- demonstrates the complexity of participation frameworks in everyday talk, the participants' own sensitivity to animation as a practice, and the negotiation and permeability of Self-Other boundaries in talk, and how these are embedded in the joint embodied unfolding structures and design of talk. A practice like co-animation that shows the permeability of participation units also poses important questions around what constitutes turn-sharing, and presents a puzzle around the duality of responsive actions that may fulfil conditional relevance while at the same time be simultaneously co-authoring, expanding the social actions and projects initiated by other co-participants. Practices like co-animation reveal that what constitutes an I, a You, or a We is a matter of interactional negotiation TCU by TCU. As Günthner (2007) explains,

"sameness and otherness, we and they are not objective relationships of given entities between individuals or groups but are the result of interactive accomplishments and interactive processes of attributions" (p.436)

Co-animation is one of the ways in which as human beings we are seen to display, enact, and celebrate through everyday interaction that which glues us together, providing us with fleeting moments of realisation that we are part of something bigger than ourselves.

Appendix I: Corpora

Recording ID	Duration (hh:mm:ss)	Participants
MCY01GEESE	00:30:32	Madeline - Kate (friends; society mates)
MCY02BAR	00:50:50	Daniel Jonathan (friends)
MCY03SPIDER	00:20:18	Becky - Laura (former schoolmates)
MCY04SANDWICH	00:42:48	Fiona - Jesse (friends; society peers; PhD peers)
MCY05BIKE	00:13:39	Mabel - Corinne (co-workers)
MCY06LAKE	00:17:56	Bruce - Alice (friends)
MCY07BOTTLE	00:19:31	Angie - Karen (friends)
MCY08SUNGLASSES	00:15:53	James - Casey - Priscilla (C & P co-workers, J acquaintance of P's)
MCY09PIN	00:14:09	Cassie - Leonie (mother- daughter)
MCY10BAG	00:11:22	Gabriel - Alexa - Mila (classmates)
MCY11LAPTOP	00:20:05	Ivan - Lila (PhD peers)
MCY12CAKE	00:22:16	Simon - Anna - Harriet (charity campaign peers)
MCY13VENDINGMACHINE	00:18:51	Maggie - Danielle (classmates)
MCY14FOUNTAIN	00:23:13	Emma - Tilly (classmates)
MCY15BOOTH	00:15:35	Colin - Tom (football team peers)

MCY16TIARA	00:03:07	Jasmine - Heidi (friends; former schoolmates)
MCY17LACROSSE	00:06:28	Reese - Ilaria (friends)
MCY18LUNCH	00:27:08	Sabrina - Gemma (friends)
MCY19ESSAYS	00:54:09	Wendy - Catherine (classmates)
MCY20MUG	00:52:54	Samantha - Evie (friends)
RCE01CIGARETTE	00:23:18	Charlotte - Liz (friends)
RCESWIMMERS	00:20:12	A, B, C
RCEBENCH	00:30:22	Carol – Mia (PhD peers)
RCEHOUSEMATESII	00:20:22	James, Kirah, Paul (housemates)
RCELAKE	00:39:52	Linda, Jane
Total: 23 recordings		10 hr 14 min 50 secs

Appendix II: Transcription conventions

Summary of main GAT 2 (Selting et al., 2010) conventions and adaptations

Notes:

- Additions and alternations made to the original marked with * (see Chapter 3, section 3.6.1 for an account)
- Repetition of symbol indicates longer duration (e.g.: °h 0.2 to 0.5 seconds, °hh 0.5-0.8 seconds) or greater intensity (e.g. <<f> xx> loud, <<ff> xx> very loud)
- Each level of transcript incorporates the conventions of the prior levels.

Minimal Transcript

[]	overlap and simultaneous talk
=	latching
°h / h°	in- / outbreaths
(.)	micro pause, estimated, up to 0.2 sec. duration appr.
(0.5) / (2.0)	measured pause (to tenth of a second)
haha	syllabic laughter
hehe	
hihi	
?h°	syllabic laughter with further articulatory information
nh°	specified (glottal closure, sniffy laugh)*
((laughs))	non-verbal vocal actions and events
(h°)	interspersed laughter particles*
<<:-)>xxx >	smiley voice
(xx)	unintelligible syllables
(that/at)	possible alternatives
((gæt))	IPA impressionistic transcription of production*

Basic transcript

:	lengthening
ʔ	glottal closure
Final pitch movements	
?	rising to high
,	rising to mid
–	level (*not marked in final position)
;	falling to mid

•	falling to low
Notation of pitch accent movements* (included also in Basic level)	
`	falling
´	rising
—	level
^	rising-falling
ˇ	falling-rising
↓ — ↑ —	stylised, calling contours (low/mid level to high level; high level to mid level) *
↑ — ↓ —	
also	
<<sty> xx>	
↑	pitch upstep
↓	pitch downstep
<<downstepped, downstep> xx>	downstepped sequence of pitch accents in intonation phrase*

Fine transcript

SYLlable	focus accent (*not included in basic transcript)
sYllable	secondary accent
Loudness and tempo changes, with scope	
<<l> xx>	lower pitch register
<<h> xx>	higher pitch register
<<f> xx>	forte, loud
<<cresc> xx>	crescendo, increasingly louder
<<p> xx>	piano, soft
<<dim> xx>	diminuendo, increasingly softer
<<all> xx>	allegro, fast
<<acc> xx>	accelerando, increasingly faster
<<len> xx>	lento, slow
<<rall> xx>	rallentando, increasingly slower
Changes in voice quality and articulatory settings, with scope	
<<cr> xx>	creaky*
< xx>	breathy*
<<wh> xx>	whispery*
<<mod> xx>	modalised*
<<other features> xx>	other impressionistic/articulatory observations, with scope

Summary of Multimodal Transcription (MMT) conventions (Mondada, 2014a)

Notes:

- This system normally transcribes talk using Jeffersonian conventions. The verbal material in this thesis has been transcribed using GAT 2 instead.
- Any alterations to the system have been marked with double asterisks **.
- The table below organises the conventions in Mondada (2014a) according to the type of information conveyed by the symbols.

Delimitation of temporality and boundaries of action

+ +	Descriptions of embodied movements are delimited between two
* *	identical symbols (one symbol per participant's line of action) and are
	synchronized with corresponding stretches of talk/lapses of time.
*--->	The action described continues across subsequent lines
>--*	and on the new line until the same symbol is reached. **
>>	The action described begins before the extract's beginning.
-->>	The action described continues after the extract's end

Gestural Phases

... . .	Preparation
-----	Full extension of the movement is reached and maintained
, , , , , , ,	Retraction
Fig	The exact moment at which a screen shot has been taken is indicated
#	with a symbol showing the still's temporal position within turn at talk/segments of time.

Additional abbreviations for movement and articulators **

@	Receiver of gaze direction
---	----------------------------

tw	Towards
af	Away from
L, R	Left, Right
H	Hand
I, T F	Index, thumb fingers

Appendix III: The International Phonetic Association (IPA) Chart

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised to 2018)

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC) © 2018 IPA

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Symbols to the right in a cell are voiced, to the left are voiceless. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

Clicks	Voiced implosives	Ejectives
◌ ɸ Bilabial	ɓ Bilabial	ʼ Examples:
◌ ɗ Dental	ɗ Dental/alveolar	p' Bilabial
◌ ɗ̥ (Post)alveolar	ɗ̥ Palatal	t' Dental/alveolar
◌ ɗ̥ Palatoalveolar	ɗ̥ Velar	k' Velar
◌ ɗ̥ Alveolar lateral	ɗ̥ Uvular	s' Alveolar fricative

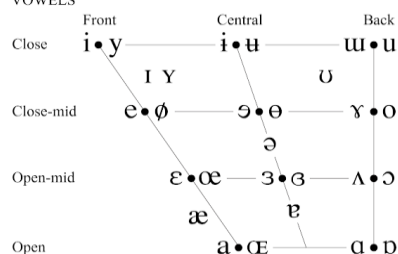
OTHER SYMBOLS

ʍ Voiceless labial-velar fricative	ɕ ʑ Alveolo-palatal fricatives
ʋ Voiced labial-velar approximant	ɹ Voiced alveolar lateral flap
ɥ Voiced labial-palatal approximant	ɥ Simultaneous ʃ and x
ħ Voiceless epiglottal fricative	
ʕ Voiced epiglottal fricative	Affricates and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary.
ʡ Epiglottal plosive	

DIACRITICS Some diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, e.g. ɲ̥̄

◌ ◌ Voiceless	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Breathy voiced	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Dental	◌ ◌
◌ ◌ Voiced	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Creaky voiced	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Apical	◌ ◌
◌ ◌ Aspirated	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Linguolabial	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Laminar	◌ ◌
◌ ◌ More rounded	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Labialized	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Nasalized	◌ ◌
◌ ◌ Less rounded	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Palatalized	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Nasal release	◌ ◌
◌ ◌ Advanced	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Velarized	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Lateral release	◌ ◌
◌ ◌ Retracted	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Pharyngealized	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ No audible release	◌ ◌
◌ ◌ Centralized	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Velarized or pharyngealized	◌ ◌		
◌ ◌ Mid-centralized	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Raised	◌ ◌ (ɹ̥ = voiced alveolar fricative)		
◌ ◌ Syllabic	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Lowered	◌ ◌ (β = voiced bilabial approximant)		
◌ ◌ Non-syllabic	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Advanced Tongue Root	◌ ◌		
◌ ◌ Rhoticity	◌ ◌	◌ ◌ Retracted Tongue Root	◌ ◌		

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

SUPRASEGMENTALS

ˈ Primary stress	ˈfounəˈtʃən
ˌ Secondary stress	
ː Long	eː
ˑ Half-long	eˑ
◌ Extra-short	ẽ
◌ Minor (foot) group	
◌ Major (intonation) group	
◌ Syllable break	.i.ækt
◌ Linking (absence of a break)	

TONES AND WORD ACCENTS

LEVEL	CONTOUR
ẽ or ˥ Extra high	˥ or ˨ Rising
é ˦ High	˨ Falling
ē ˧ Mid	˧ High rising
è ˩ Low	˩ Low rising
ẽ ˥ Extra low	˥ Rising-falling
˩ Downstep	↗ Global rise
˥ Upstep	↘ Global fall

Typefaces: Doulos SIL (metatext); Doulos SIL, IPA Kiel, IPA LS Uni (symbols)

IPA Chart, <http://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/content/ipa-chart>, available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Sharealike 3.0 Unported License. Copyright © 2018 International Phonetic Association.

Appendix IV: The Vocal Profile Analysis (VPA) Protocol

	First Pass		Second Pass						
	Neutral	Non-Neutral	Setting	Moderate			Extreme		
				1	2	3	4	5	6
A. Vocal Tract Features									
			Lip rounding/protrusion						
1. Labial			Lip spreading						
			Labiodentalization						
			Extensive range						
2. Mandibular			Close jaw						
			Open jaw						
			Protruded jaw						
			Extensive range						
3. Lingual tip/blade			Minimized range						
			Advanced tip/blade						
4. Lingual body			Retracted tip/blade						
			Fronted tongue body						
			Backed tongue body						
			Raised tongue body						
			Lowered tongue body						
			Extensive range						
5. Pharyngeal			Minimized range						
			Pharyngeal constriction						
6. Velopharyngeal			Pharyngeal expansion						
			Audible nasal escape						
			Nasal						
7. Larynx height			Denasal						
			Raised larynx						
			Lowered larynx						
B. Overall muscular tension									
8. Vocal tract tension			Tense vocal tract						
			Lax vocal tract						
9. Laryngeal tension			Tense larynx						
			Lax larynx						
C. Phonation features									
	Setting	Present		Scalar Degree					
		Neutral	Non-Neutral	Moderate			Extreme		
				1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Voicing type	voice								
	falsetto								
	creak								
11. Laryngeal frication	creaky								
	whisper								
	whispery								
12. Laryngeal irregularity	harsh								
	tremor								

(Adapted from San Segundo & Mompean, 2017)

Appendix V: Information Sheet and consent form

UNIVERSITY of York

DEPARTMENT OF
LANGUAGE AND
LINGUISTIC SCIENCE
Heslington, York, YO10 5DD, UK

INFORMATION SHEET

PLEASE KEEP THIS INFORMATION SHEET AND A SIGNED COPY OF THE
CONSENT FORM FOR YOUR RECORDS

You are invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether to participate it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

Title of study: (Dis)Association in Interaction: The design of “social unitness”

Researcher: Marina Noelia Cantarutti

What is the research about?

The research is about the ways in which speakers organise their participation in talk. In particular, it will explore the roles participants take when they interact, and how they react to what others have said.

Who is carrying out the research?

Marina N. Cantarutti, PhD student in Language and Communication at the Department of Language and Linguistic Science, will be carrying out the research for her PhD thesis.

Who can participate?

Native or highly proficient speakers of English are invited to interact with their classmates, friends, relatives or co-workers. The only requirement is that the interactants are familiar with each other and have been seen to be interacting immediately before the recording is made.

What does the study involve?

The study involves the video and audio recording of interaction between you and the other people joining you at the moment the research approaches you at a public space at the University. You are invited to interact on any topic of your choice, and there is no need to agree on what to talk about.

There is no a priori expected duration for the interaction, though a minimum of 10 minutes and a maximum of 60 minutes is preferable. Participants and researcher will jointly agree on the duration or finishing time of the recording before it starts.

Do I have to take part?

You do not have to take part in the study. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and will be asked to sign two copies of the consent form (one copy is for you to keep). If you decide to take part you will still be free to withdraw

Page 1 | 3

without giving a reason, even during the session itself. If you withdraw from the study, we will destroy your data and will not use it in any way.

What are the possible risks of taking part?

There are no foreseeable risks in taking part in the interaction. All personal details (names, and other identifiable references to places or other people) will be anonymised, that is, changed for fictitious names.

Are there any benefits to participating?

Your participation will make a great contribution to the understanding of how participants organise their participation in interaction, the roles they take, and how they use language and their bodies to do so.

What will happen to the data I provide?

The data you provide will be used alongside the data of other participants to analyse how you organise your speaking roles, and how you react to each other's talk. Your talk will be transcribed, and visually and auditorily analysed by the researcher impressionistically, and also through computer software. There is no evaluation of "rightness", as the study focuses on the description of conversation as it happens. Your data will be stored securely in the University of York, Department of Language and Linguistic Science, and kept indefinitely in case it is needed for future research projects on similar topics.

What about confidentiality?

Your identity will be kept strictly confidential. No real names will be used in any presentations or publications, nor in the researcher's dissertation. If you agree to short excerpts of your interaction being used at conferences and/or academic publications, you may request in the consent form the use of anonymising video filters to blur the image of your face and body.

Will I know the results?

The general results of the study will be presented in the dissertation, which will be made available to read via the University E-Theses repository at the end of the project, and in selected publications and conference presentations.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Departmental Ethics Committee of the Department of Language and Linguistic Science at the University of York. If you have any questions regarding this, you can contact the chair of the L&LS Ethics Committee, Márton Sós-kuthy, (email: marton.soskuthy@york.ac.uk; Tel: (01904) 324171).

If you have further questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact:

Marina Noelia Cantarutti, PhD student in Language and Communication
Department of Language and Linguistic Science
University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD
email: mnc510@york.ac.uk
Supervisor: Dr. Richard Ogden
email: richard.ogden@york.ac.uk

UNIVERSITY of York DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC SCIENCE
(Dis)Association in Interaction: The design of "social unitness"

Lead researcher: Marina Noelia Cantarutti – PhD student - mnc510@york.ac.uk

Consent form

This form is for you to state whether or not you agree to take part in the study. Please read and answer every question. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

Have you read and understood the information leaflet about the study? Yes ☐ No ☐

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have these been answered satisfactorily? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do you understand that the information you provide will be held in confidence by the research team, and your name or identifying information about you will not be mentioned in any publication or presentation? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do you understand that you may withdraw from the study at any time before the end of the data collection session without giving any reason, and that in such a case all your data will be destroyed? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do you understand that the data may be kept after the duration of the current project, to be used in future research on language and social interaction? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do you agree to take part in the study? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, do you agree to your interaction being recorded on audio and video? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do you agree to excerpts from your audio/video recordings to be used in presentations, scientific publications, or in teaching by the researcher, without disclosing your real name? Yes ☐ No ☐

(You may take part in the study without agreeing to this).

If not, do you agree for excerpts to be used with a video filter blurring your facial features? *(You may take part in the study without agreeing to this).* Yes ☐ No ☐

Your name (in BLOCK letters): _____

Your signature: _____

Your email address: _____

Researcher's name: Marina Noelia Cantarutti

Date: _____

Appendix VI: Access to data presented in the thesis

Access to a data folder with the anonymised video excerpts of data transcribed in the thesis is available through this link: http://bit.ly/cantarutti_thesis or alternatively here: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/176ATiN13Gbinvi9tA2qURp_ZIzItpu-f?usp=sharing

Conditions of use of this data: for thesis examination purposes only

This folder contains a selection of data included in the PhD thesis “The Multimodal and Sequential Design of Co-animation as a Practice for Association in English Interaction” by Marina Noelia Cantarutti.

The material is part of the MCY corpus (Cantarutti, 2017/2018) and the RCE Corpus (Rossi, MPI, 2011).

The data have been anonymised through the application of video filters, and also audio filters where applicable.

The data is hereby shared for thesis examination purposes only and is not to be used, reproduced, edited, or copied in any way for any other purposes, in order to make sure all ethical concerns as detailed in the informed consent sheet of the participants are strictly kept.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Best wishes,

Marina N. Cantarutti

marina.cantarutti@york.ac.uk

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